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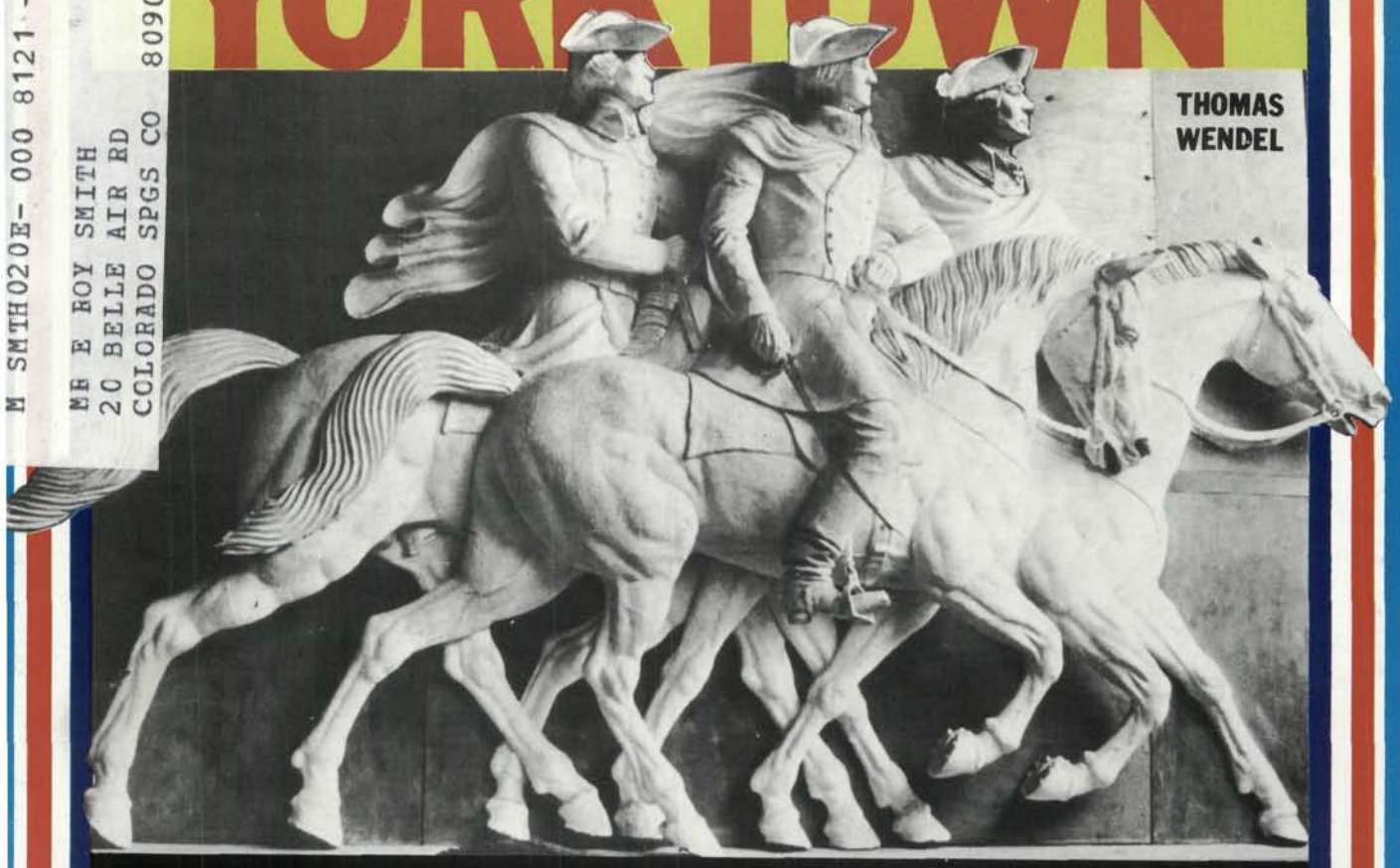
OCTOBER 30, 1981

ublican Infighting:
OWER vs. PERCY
see page 1256

NATIONAL REVIEW

Two Hundred Years Ago We Won Our Independence At YORKTOWN



THOMAS WENDEL

ALSO:

Ian Smith on the Future of Zimbabwe

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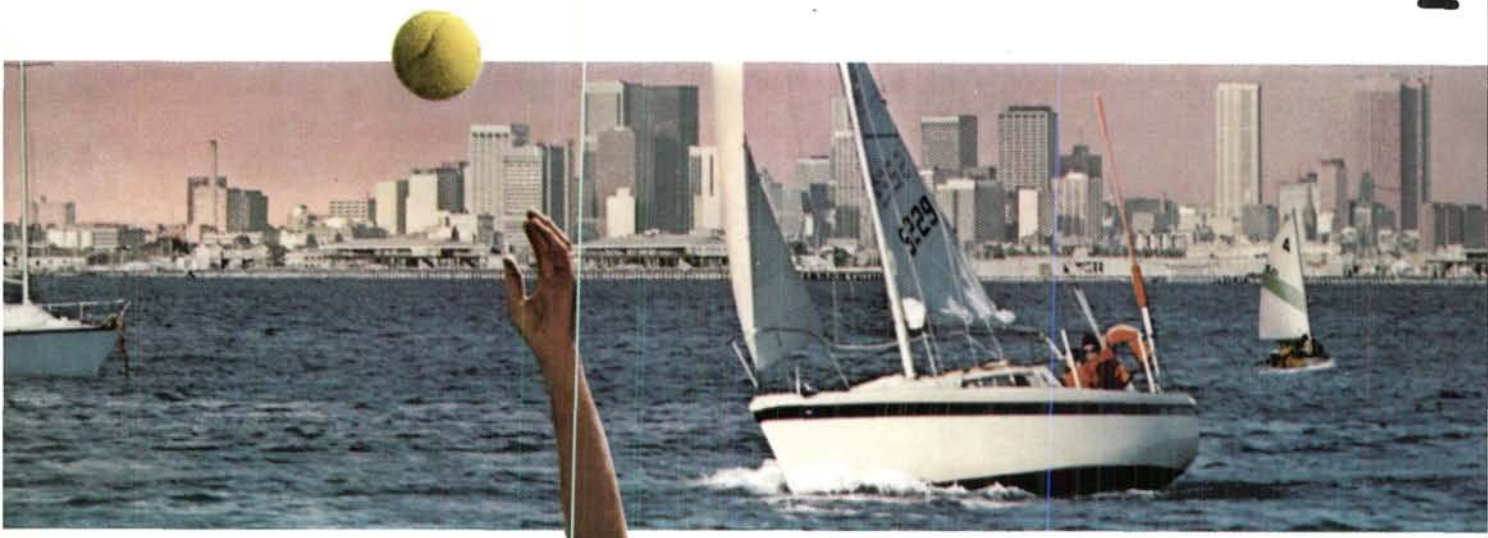
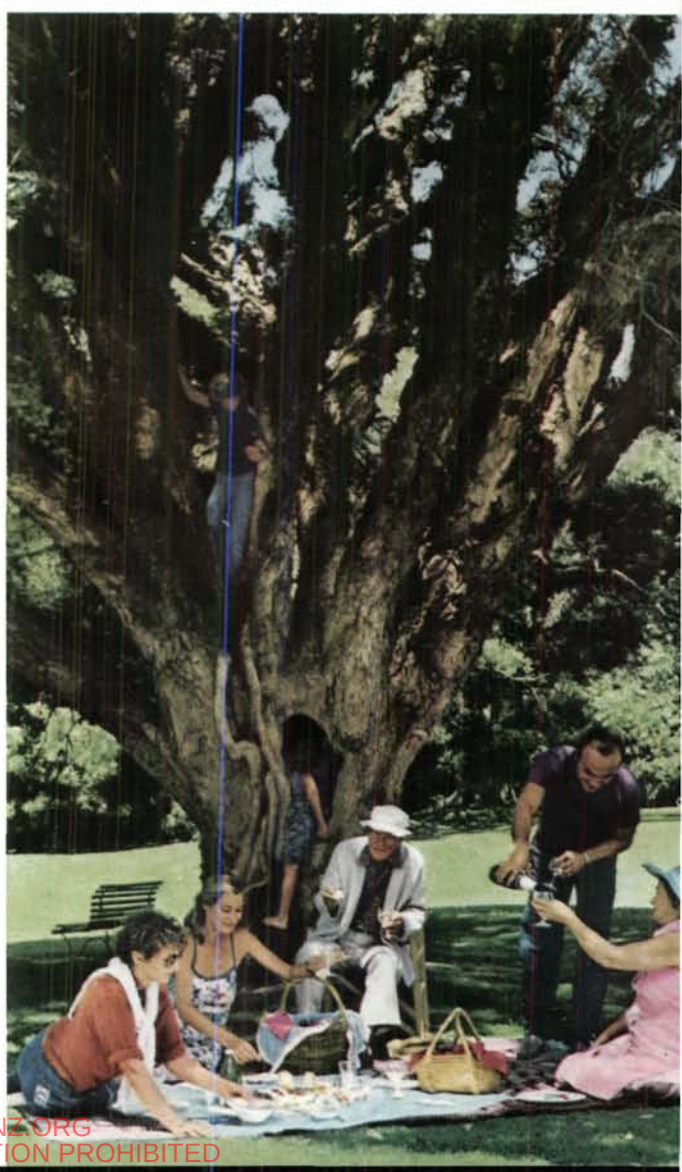
Melbourne's up





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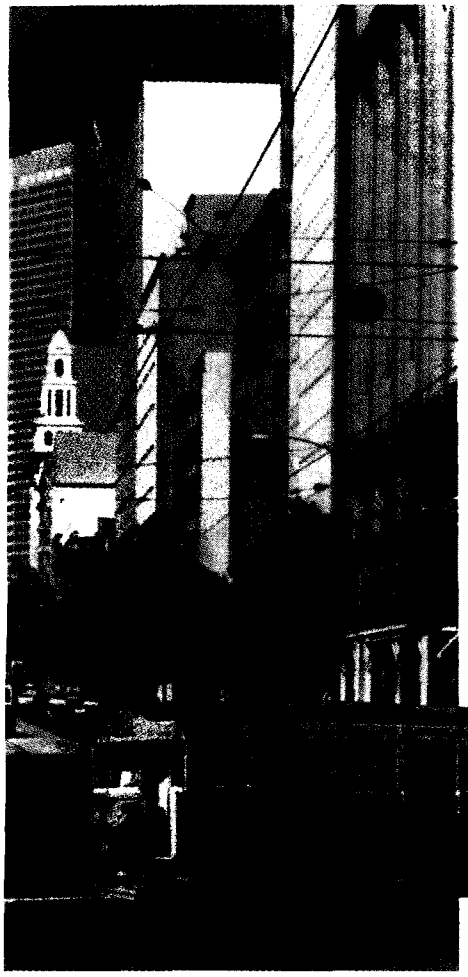
op, down under.



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NATIONAL REVIEW

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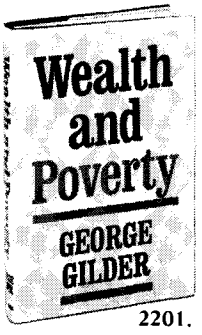

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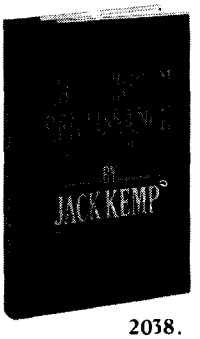

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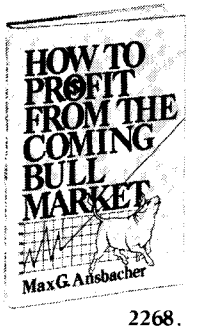

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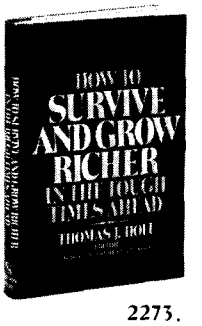

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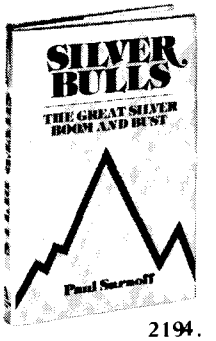

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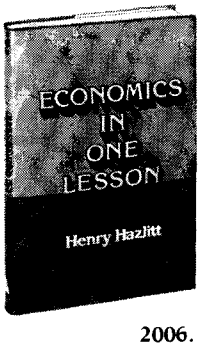

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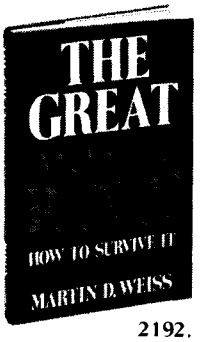

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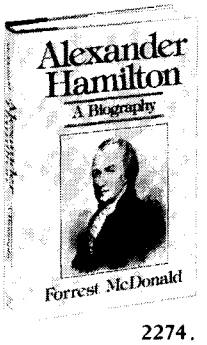

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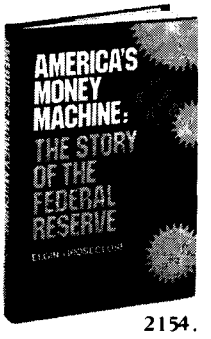

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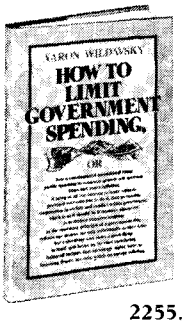

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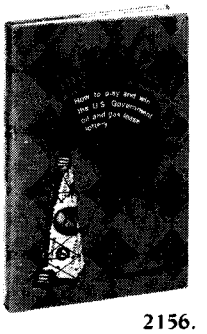

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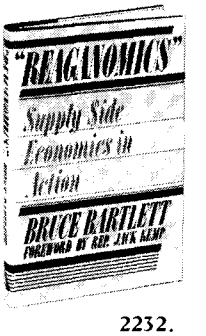

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Letters

The Portland Declaration

Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, summing up the Portland Declaration [Oct. 16], calls God's existence "self-evident." It is not. Thomas Aquinas, who also advanced the argument from design, denied that it was self-evident, since a self-evident proposition is one whose truth is implied by its own terms: i.e., to understand it is to assent to it. I *understand* the proposition that the universe can't be the product of immanent processes (which Kuehnelt-Leddihn, for some reason, calls "coincidences"), but I don't *assent* to it. Conservatism should be more rigorous—and should look for less ethereal foundations. Fighting Communism and liberalism doesn't depend on metaphysical or prehistoric conditions.

Arthur Whalen
New York, N.Y.

The Sale of Public Lands

A solution to the problem of continuing federal deficits, reported as coming from a small conference at Montana State University ["The Week," Sept. 18] worked at least once before in the history of our country. In 1825 the Federal Government was burdened with (for that time) horrendous debt incurred for the prosecution of the Revolutionary War. Senator Daniel Webster proposed that the enormous public land resources of the country be sold and the money used to "reduce" the federal debt. The idea was refined and promoted by Senator Robert Y. Hayne (S.C.) and adopted by the Congress in 1830.

Within six years the federal debt was completely liquidated. So great had been the income from the sale of public lands that the Treasury was embarrassed with riches and approved a series of "loans" to the states as a method for the distribution of some of the surplus. The loans were never repaid.

It is possible that the riches of more than 700 million acres now controlled by the Federal Government, if developed by private industry in private ownership, sans burdensome regulation, could provide a resource that would accomplish a substantial reduction in the national debt. Present haphazard government management barely recovers the costs of administration.

E. L. Newton
Nevada Taxpayers Association
Carson City, Nev.

Mitterrand's NATO Policy

Brian Crozier's praise of President Mitterrand's pro-NATO policy was silly, irrational, and the ultimate logic of conservatives' worship of authority ["The Protracted Conflict," Aug. 21].

First, you cannot praise someone for taking a stand "whatever the reason" for their taking it. Second, it is likely that Mitterrand, who is a socialist, understands the ways in which American military spending props up the European economy, and wishes the American taxpayer to continue to foot the bill for the internationalization of the cost of European defense. With his economic policies, he will need all the subsidies he can get.

Bruce Hill Majors
National Secretary
Students for a Libertarian Society
Annapolis, Md.

Cutting Losses

This is in regard to your "Third Thoughts on the Bomb" ["The Week," Sept. 18].

When the bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki I was a student in Command and Staff School at Quantico. My orders had been cut for a G-2 billet in the Marine Corps expeditionary force to be landed on the home islands. No one on that staff expected to survive, and the bomb was quite literally a new lease on life for us.

As Paul Fussell stated, we did indeed expect to lose one million Americans—but dead, not "killed and wounded." He errs, however, in implying that we expected an equivalent number of Japanese casualities. *We expected to kill twenty million Japanese.*

Both figures were estimates, of course, but they were highly educated estimates. By that time we knew amphibious war, and we knew the Japanese.

Thus it is that the A-bombs spared far more Japanese than American lives, a point overlooked in most commentaries.

Jeff Cooper
Paulden, Ariz.

The editorial "Third Thoughts on the Bomb" was right on the mark. However, there is an error in the fourth paragraph.

Harry Truman never "commanded small infantry units in combat." In World War I, in the grade of Captain, he commanded a field artillery battery.

John P. Rowan
Bronx, N.Y.

Ludwig von Mises

Tom Bethell's essay on Ludwig von Mises ["Ludwig von Mises: A Centenary," Oct. 2] was perfect. It is true that at NYU's Graduate School of Business Administration in the closing years of his career von Mises was "surrounded largely by time-

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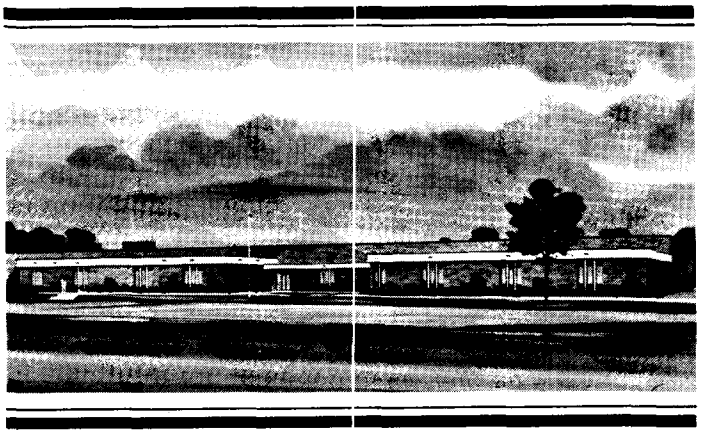

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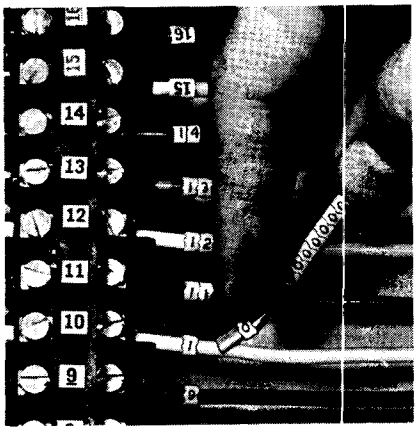

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serving, uncomprehending majors in accounting or business finance," as Murray Rothbard wrote. But some of us were impressed (circa 1948) and the others were at least respectful. At the unnamed "prestigious academic centers" Rothbard referred to, however, von Mises would have encountered hostility, even ridicule.

Victor F. Morris
Teaneck, N.J.

Oops!

A sentence in my profile of Thomas Sowell should have read: "Such questions, he says, must be formulated as 'testable hypotheses,' setting aside the assumption that well-meaning measures can have only beneficial effects." An accidentally dropped line in the October 16 issue changed the sense radically, i.e., for the worse.

Joseph Sobran
New York, N.Y.

Bright College Years

I am touched and amused by Anthony Harrigan's sentimental journey into his loss of innocence while a student at Bard College ["The Way We Were," Sept. 18]. It is ironic that this "liberal" environment gave birth to Harrigan's "conservative" idealism. Apparently, however, his Bard education was a complete success: He concedes that "I came out of it with a clearer grasp of what I believed (and) what I rejected." Now, personally, I reject his blanket indictment of "liberalism"—I sense it is motivated more from passion than reason—but the man does think for himself. The development of independent reason has always been a principal goal of the Bard education. It seems too few Americans exercise independent thought, that all too many indiscriminately flock around haranguers of trendy political sentiments when their daily problems get out of hand.

Kevin D. Hyde
Admissions Counselor, Bard College
Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.

I am president of the Bard Conservative Union and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute Study Group at Bard College. I am writing this letter in response to Mr. Harrigan's recent article entitled "The Way We Were." I found his article thoroughly enjoyable. It depicted all aspects of Bard College as if it were about Bard in the Eighties. In Bard's case, it is quite sad that the college has not changed over the past forty years. Although there is, as expected, a new cast of characters, the scenario remains the same.

You might be interested to know that there was recently a purge of a Communist professor from the political science department. I do not know what part the Conservative Union played in such a decision. I would like to think that Presi-

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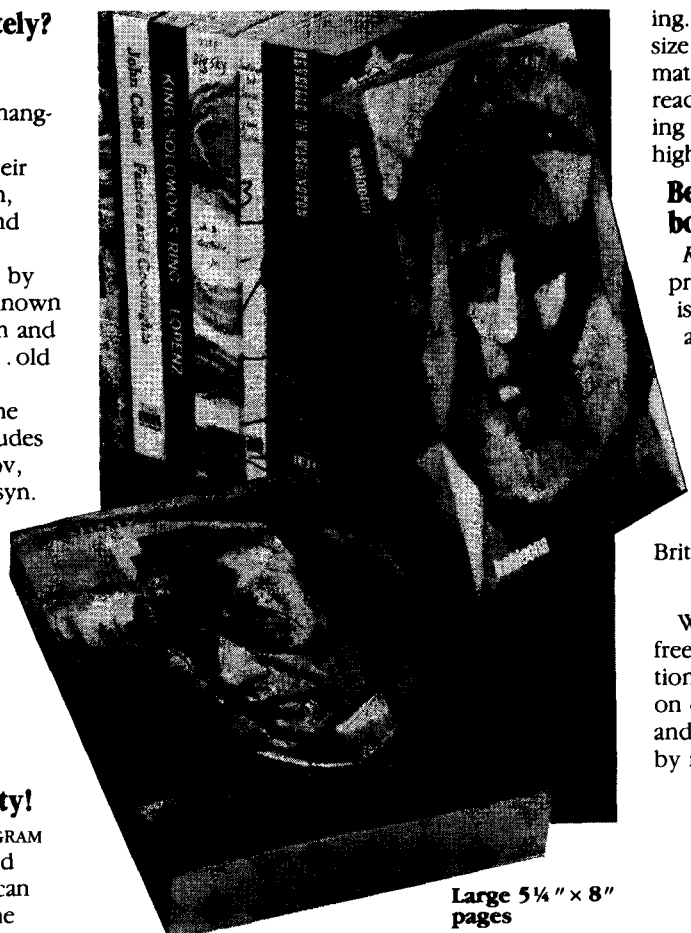

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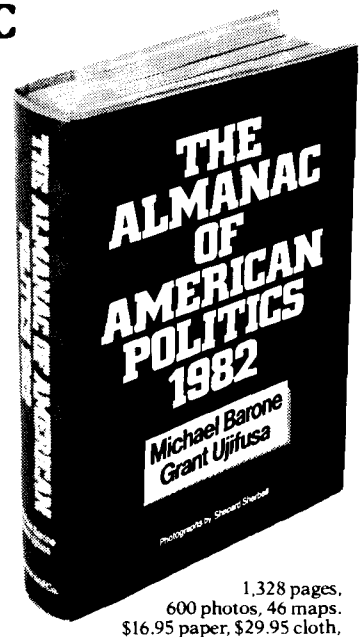
*ALBERT R. HUNT, *The Wall Street Journal*



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dent Botstein is responding to the demands of a conservative few of us.

Finally, we applaud the article and wish to admit Mr. Anthony Harrigan into our conservative gentleman's club at Bard.

Michael Rothberg, President
The John D. Rockefeller Society of Young Republican Gentlemen
Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.

The air of self-pity that pervaded Fossedal and D'Souza's article on *The Dartmouth Review* ["Darthmouth's Restoration," Sept. 18] affected me terribly. Teary-eyed, I remembered sitting near Greg, Ben, Keeny, et al., at the Catholic student center. There I listened to their heart-rending accounts of being persecuted by the administration and unappreciated by the student body. *O tempora! O mores!*

The authors painted a picture of being besieged by college officers sympathetic to narrow-minded lesbians, ungrateful Indians, and militant blacks. Opposition to the *Review* was not limited to such quarters, however. All sorts of students that I had talked to found the paper's contents objectionable—not, though, because of its conservative slant. The sad fact was that the *Review* did not do justice to any "conservative" viewpoint, in the conventional sense. Rather, its honest attempt to present a right-wing perspective degenerated into sophomoric criticism of the administration, and ad hominem attacks upon the faculty and students. Absurd post hoc, propter hoc fallacies (i.e. Greg demanded Kemeny's resignation and received it a month later) were typical of the *Review*'s hackneyed, self-congratulatory editorials. Instead of encouraging honest debate in a respectable forum, their staff engaged in the tasteless promotion of such a bizarre spectacle as a champagne and lobster dinner for Oxfam. *The Dartmouth Review*'s staff evidently could not take the responsibility of representing conservatives seriously. Why, then, should they have been granted the dignity of using Dartmouth's name?

Daniel T. DiMuzio
Dartmouth '81
Cincinnati, Ohio

Anti-Catholicism

Congratulations to William F. Buckley for his review of the film *True Confessions* ["Hollywood Piety," Sept. 18] in which he points out that anti-Catholic attitudes are so pervasive in the mass media as to be taken for granted. As he notes, there is nothing in *True Confessions* that is "truly sacrilegious." It is, rather, an example of that low-intensity denigration which invisibly forges a negative stereotype.

I must offer one correction, however. The Catholic League for Religious and

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Interestingly, with futures like these, whether the price is going up or down doesn't matter, as long as there's consistent movement in either direction, since you can go *long* or *short* as the situation dictates. Only the uninitiated limits his profit potential to higher prices, appreciation.

Even more important, it's these catch-what's-happening strategies in commodities, currencies, interest rates, precious metals, etc. that are often more suited to today's investment climate. Traditional investments, stocks and bonds, are today's speculations—on the rate of inflation and the direction of interests rates.

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But acting on one or more of these profit opportunities won't do a lot more for your financial future than any other one-shot or haphazard investing method. Without a commanding understanding of the *process* by which money makes money, a step-by-step plan for building your capital slowly but surely, one wrong move can wipe out a dozen right ones and you could end up, like so many others, getting little more out of working than the living you're making.

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At this point I think I should introduce myself and give you our company's background.

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Michael Schwartz
Director of Public Affairs
Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights
Milwaukee, Wis.

Thanksgiving

I read with interest your note concerning Aeronca, Inc. and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) charge of an unfair labor practice due to the discontinuance of giving Christmas turkeys to employees ["The Week," Aug. 7].

I thought you might be interested in the background concerning this case. Back in 1977, Aeronca, Inc. decided to stop giving Christmas turkeys to all employees, both salary and hourly, due to severe losses in 1976. The IAM union at the Aerospace Division filed a grievance under the labor agreement and an unfair labor practice charge with the NLRB.

Under the Board's Collyer wire rule, the case was deferred to arbitration, with both parties, union and Aeronca, agreeing to be bound by the decision of the arbitrator. In late 1978 the arbitrator ruled in favor of the company and denied the grievance and dismissed the case.

The NLRB took back jurisdiction of the case, and it was processed to a hearing before the full Board in Washington, D.C. In November 1980, the Board rendered its decision which was cited by you, overruling the arbitrator and ordering the company to provide the value of the turkeys for the past years plus interest.

Aeronca, Inc. was vindicated in May 1981 when the Fourth Circuit Court of appeals in Richmond overturned the decision of the NLRB. The matter has finally been put to rest since no appeal of the Fourth Circuit decision was taken by the NLRB.

John E. Hackett
Vice President Administration
Aeronca, Inc.
Pineville, N.C.

Apology

Whoops! Thomas Scott Thrasher ["Letters," Oct. 2] is correct in taking me to task for misstating that Charles Schumer was defeated in his 1980 bid to succeed Elizabeth Holtzman in Congress ["A Bureaucrat Is Born," May 15].

He may be pleased to learn that as an act of contrition, I reread that particular chapter of Daniel Feldman's *Reforming Government*. I can report that: a) Mr. Feldman had his facts straight, and b) his book is even worse than I remembered.

Consequently, before I compose my next review for these pages, I intend to *reread* that damned chapter so as to remind myself that while many are called to offer their literary criticism—few are chosen by the editors of *NR*.

Alan L. Miller
Monroe, Mich.

The Return of Mano

Congratulations for getting MANO back on the payroll ["Not Writing," Sept. 18]!

I nearly despaired of ever reading his witty, creative, and bumptious articles again. At the beginning of the summer, when I wrote asking what happened to MANO (I capitalize each letter, for the man is precious), you said he'd be back. I waited and waited, then felt that you had either prevaricated, refused to pay him his worth (inestimable!) and lost him, or . . . just plain lost him. I was left wondering, assuredly as I wonder where *NR* stands on the abortion issue. But then he arose. The giant reappeared, and we readers are blest once again. Amid the stuffy styles and verbiage that crop up like wallflowers on the pages of *NR*, MANO's writing has a Barrymore profile. Who else comes up with those splendid metaphors "driven by drum and shout from a subconscious place"? To wit: "Tip O'Neill is short of power-steering fluid." (MANO! Ho! Ho!)

Robert Paolucci
New York, N.Y.

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Anybody notice? President **Reagan** has won a couple of foreign-policy battles. First, the Senate has repealed the **Clark** Amendment that tied the Administration's hands on aid to rebel forces in **Angola**. (The only three Republicans to vote against the White House on this one were Sens. **Mathias**, **Hatfield**, and **Specter**.) It also voted to give Reagan a free hand on arms sales to **Argentina** and "sense of the Congress" support for his **Pakistan** arms deal. . . . On **AWACS** —the thorniest foreign issue of them all —things are moving, glacially. Says Sen. **Sam Nunn** (D., Ga.), who recently promised the President his support: "The President was in the end zone—now he's on the playing field." . . . In past fortnight Republicans **Orrin Hatch** and **Alan Simpson** have gone from opposing AWACS to supporting it; four usually staunch Reagan supporters (Sens. **Lugar**, **Warner**, and **Denton**, Republicans, and **Harry Byrd**, Independent) have moved from undecided to pro. Key to the situation is how five freshman Republicans, all now in the anti-AWACS category, will finally vote: **Gorton** (Wash.), **Kasten** (Wis.), **Mattingly** (Ga.), **Murkowski** (Alaska), and **Quayle** (Ind.). . . . Lined up on Reagan's side are the last three Presidents of the United States, and 16 former Secretaries of Defense and of State.

■ Lots of familiar former Democratic warhorses will be hitting the hustings next spring, according to **Alan Baron**. Former Govs. **George Wallace** and **Mike Dukakis** want to recapture the statehouses in Alabama and Massachusetts; former Sen. **Harold Hughes** will make a gubernatorial race in Iowa; **Adlai III** would like his father's old job back (polls show him running neck and neck, 43 to 43 per cent, with Republican Gov. **Jim Thompson**); and **Eugene McCarthy**, out of politics for a decade, is looking at moderate Republican Sen. **David Durenberger**'s seat in Minnesota. . . . In Massachusetts, Republican Rep. **Margaret Heckler** says thanks, but no thanks, she'd rather run for the House again than take on **Teddy Kennedy**. In the wings there, Dr. **Mildred Jefferson**, the anti-abortion leader. . . . Mixed bag: Conservative Rep. **Jim Santini** (D., Nev.), who did yeoman work for Reagan in the budget and tax-cut battles, won't be running for the House next year: he intends to take on liberal Democratic Sen. **Howard Cannon** in a primary battle. . . . Out in California, the polls show **Pete McCloskey** running best against **Jerry Brown** (50 to 38) in that bustling race for Senator **Hayakawa**'s seat. . . . And in New York **Lewis Lehrman** seems to have the inside track against Gov. **Hugh Carey**.

Martin, *Punch* Rothco

"Quick, Agnes, look out your window. Eleanor Quigley is sashaying by in Gloria Vanderbilt jeans, a Nancy Reagan blouse, and a Lady Di hairdo."

■ Is the USIA about to revive the cold war? Not at all, says *Commentary* editor **Norman Podhoretz**: the cold war never ended, "America merely dropped out." Podhoretz and **Ed Feulner**, president of the Heritage Foundation, have been enlisted by USIA head **Charles Wick** as volunteers to tell the Voice of America and other U.S. government-sponsored stations "what the U.S. should be saying to the world." (Not long ago, VOA gave a Soviet embassy official 13 minutes to explain the Soviet position on arms to the world.)

■ Cracking down: Canadian **air controllers** who took part in a sympathy strike with PATCO in August have been given one- to three-day suspensions by Transport Canada. . . . The New York City **transit unions** that called an illegal 11-day strike in April 1980 have lost their checkoff privileges for 18 months, to Mayor **Koch**'s huge satisfaction. "What the New York Employment Board has done," says Hizzoner, "is to say that if you engage in an illegal strike, we're going to sock it to you."

■ Quite a record: **Amnesty International** says more people have been executed in the **Iran** in the last four months (1,800) than in the entire rest of the world last year. . . . The **Thai** government is taking no chances with reports that Communists in Asia are using chemical weapons: it has issued gas masks to its patrols on the Cambodian border. . . . Agence France Presse reports that two captured Soviet soldiers in **Afghanistan** had been told by their Soviet officers that Chinese troops occupied half of Afghanistan. . . . The *Daily World* was appalled that **Solidarity** should have appealed to Eastern European and Soviet workers to strike for their rights, because "workers who have fought to build socialism in other socialist states understand that since they already control the economy, by striking they would be merely hurting themselves."

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THE WEEK

■ Iran accuses the United States of causing the plane crash that took the lives of four of its top military men. It says the U.S. AWACS planes operating in Saudi Arabia sent some sort of signal that jammed the plane's controls and brought it down. If this doesn't clinch the AWACS sale, nothing will.

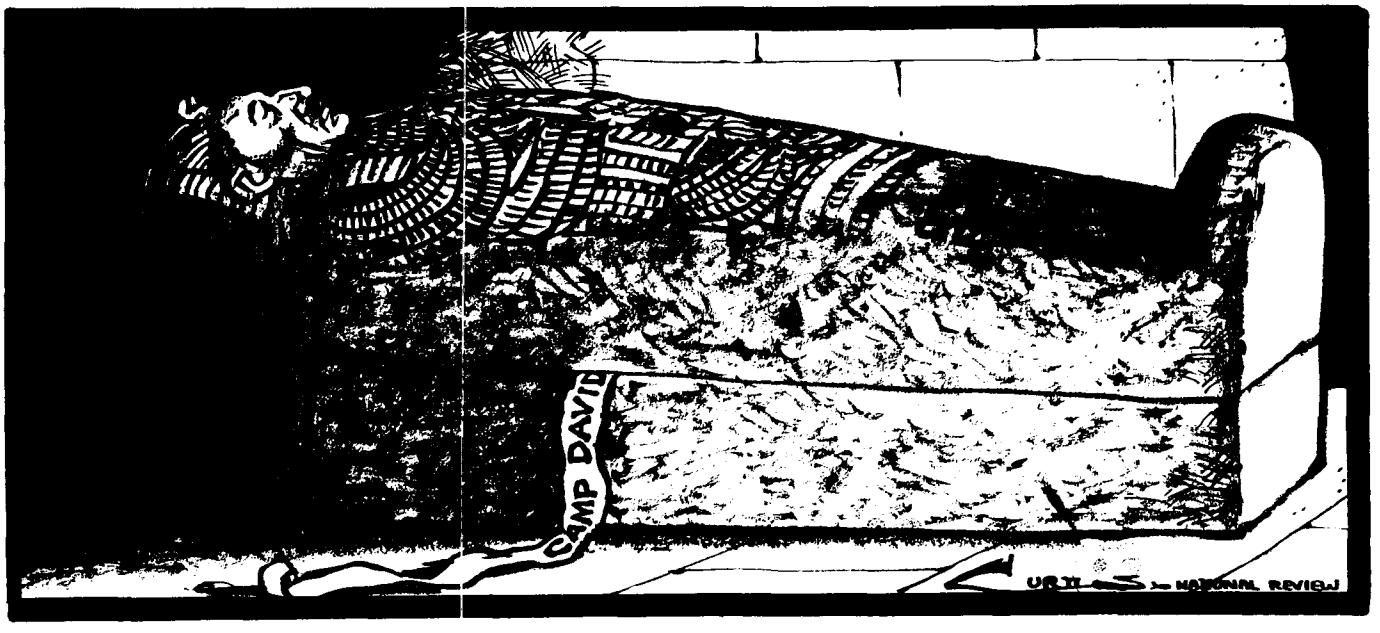
■ Congress gave the military a pay raise, and it gave the most help where it was most needed—senior sergeants and petty officers, the men who make the services go, and who have been leaving them in droves. They get a boost of 17 per cent (we're not talking princely sums: $2,130 a month for a sergeant major with a quarter-century of experience). Officers rose 14.3 per cent, recruits rose 10 per cent—probably too much. But the central problem has at last been addressed.

■ No sooner had Richard Nixon turned up at Anwar Sadat's funeral than Tony Lewis of the *New York Times* grew hair on his face, emitted an eerie howl, and rolled up his sleeves: "Nothing abashes him; no shame . . . sick . . . sinister . . ." Speaking for "many," Lewis expressed "revulsion." Doest thou well to be angry, Tony?

■ It got hefty coverage—network TV news footage, ink and pix in the press, mention in hourly radio headlines. "It" was a pro-ERA rally at the Lincoln Memorial. Guess how many of America's women turned out for this major media event: a) 100,000; b) 10,000; c) 1,000. Right. But look at it this way: if each of the demonstrators can persuade just one state legislator somewhere to vote for it, ERA may still squeak through before June 30, 1982.

■ Unions in a dozen industries are renegotiating their contracts, taking cuts in wages and benefits—"give-backs"—in order to keep their employers, and themselves, solvent. Business says American labor costs have gotten out of hand. William Winpisinger, president of the machinists' union and *soi-disant* socialist, calls it "job blackmail." Mr. Winpisinger is available on Angel and Columbia, and also on convenient 45 rpm's.

■ James Earl Carter, former President of the United States, is demanding a public apology from the *Washington Post* for a report which he finds "false, defamatory, and libelous per se." The report, appearing in "The Ear" column (which the *Post* took over from the *Star*) implies that the stories that Nancy Reagan desired the Carters to vacate the White House before the Inauguration, to allow Mrs. Reagan and her decorators in, originated in conversations Mrs. Reagan held with decorator Ted Graber in Blair House, where the Reagans were living prior to January 20. The pertinent quote from "The Ear": "They're saying that Blair House, where Nancy was lodging—and chatting up First Decorator Ted Graber—was *bugged*." How has *Post* Executive Editor Ben Bradlee responded? With his usual precision. "There's not a doubt in the world," says Bradlee, "that the item, as written, doesn't say anything about anybody bugging anybody." As



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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Despite the assurances, Hosni Mubarak is not going to continue the foreign policy of Anwar Sadat. The movement away from Sadat will not be great, but it will be noticeable and felt. Mubarak will not be as daring as Sadat, nor will his conduct of foreign policy be as much of a personality cult. So says the emerging consensus of Washington diplomatic analysts.

In the first place, and elementally, Mubarak doesn't want to be murdered. He has rightly concluded that Sadat was killed for his policies, particularly his foreign policy, and Mubarak is unwilling to make the same mistake. The movement away from Sadat does not mean that Mubarak will draw closer to the Soviet Union, a drift that appears exceedingly unlikely. Nor will the historical enmity between Syria and Iraq on the one hand and Egypt on the other be altered. There will be no lessening of tensions between Egypt and Libya in the short or medium term, and the PLO will gain no significant increase in support from Egypt under the new President.

Mubarak does not see the PLO as a principal concern. The PLO, he recognizes, does not enjoy the best reputation in the Arab world, due in no small part to the fact that the PLO is constantly used by Syria. Also Arafat's leadership of the PLO is not regarded by many Arabs as sufficiently mature to cope with statehood.

Nevertheless, Mubarak will fall more in line with other Arab countries. This means that the U.S. and Israel will find it less easy to reach agreements with Egypt under Mubarak than under Sadat. Mubarak will play more traditional diplomatic games than did Sadat. If the U.S. fails to move quickly or convincingly enough on a given issue, Mubarak will bring leverage to bear through conventional diplomatic maneuvers, perhaps including a nuanced tilt toward the going radical Arab posture, thus seeking to unnerve the U.S. into compliance.

On balance, the shift in government in Egypt, traumatizing as it was, bodes well. Diplomats and analysts will not say so publicly, but many feel that the death of Sadat carried with it more pluses than minuses for the peace process. This is said even—in fact principally—by those who revered Sadat for his immense contribution to peace. At any rate, the post-Sadat era has begun.

■ Which reminds Cato of Poland. The Polish economy being in continuing turmoil, and the Soviets being very much preoccupied with Afghanistan and the Mideast, the opportunity is ripe for the U.S. to move more decisively to shape the evolution of what is concededly a fluid political movement in Poland. Perhaps the most important long-run demand of Solidarity is its insistence on a free press and open access to the media. The U.S. should do everything possible to encourage the acceptance of those revolutionary (for a Communist nation) ideas, especially by offering Poland economic aid.

For the U.S. to permit the Soviets alone to provide for the relief of the severe Polish short-fall in food supplies would be disastrous. In so doing we would make it easy for Poles and others to conclude that the Communist system can at least offer economic security. And note: Our Agriculture Department is now in the process of negotiating a deal to supply the Soviets 23 million tons of grain. What kind of macabre black comedy would it be for us to sell grain to the Soviets, thus permitting them to turn around and supply the Poles, thereby helping keep the Poles within the Soviet orbit?

■ China-watchers of both liberal and conservative stripes are inversely amused or bedazzled by the PRC's current effort to generate an image and aura of comity between itself and Taiwan. Over the last two weeks, the PRC has released squadrons of doveish public utterances, and trumpeted their flight with all manner of publicity. Chiang Kai-shek can be buried in his native town. Dignitaries from Taiwan have been invited to visit the PRC. Taiwan has been offered a role in the PRC government, not only as an autonomous unit, but as somehow integral to the actual governing of the Mainland itself. Peking has urged Taiwanese merchants to open businesses and joint ventures on the mainland—don't worry about confiscation.

The doveish flurry—nay, blizzard—comes just at the time when the Reagan Administration must decide whether certain defense weaponry should be sold to Taiwan. The intended effect of the PRC blitz is transparent, i.e., to dissuade the U.S. from the sale on the grounds that such weaponry is superfluous, given the lovey-dovey PRC/Taiwan relationship. All of which raises the issue: How strong is our China card going to be? The doveish blitz by the PRC may well blind the State Department bureaucracy which, in the past, has shown itself unduly credulous toward the PRC. Our information, however, is that State's policy of see no evil, hear no evil, and speak no evil about the PRC will yield, in this instance, to the realism of the National Security Council and of Ronald Reagan himself. The Taiwan sale will go through.

—CATO

for the demand for an apology: "How do you make a public apology—run up and down Pennsylvania Avenue bare bottom shouting, 'I'm sorry'?" They're saying in Washington that Richard Nixon wasn't the only one ruined by Watergate.

■ Medical care in the Soviet Union is free and available to all. The Soviet Union has 38 doctors per ten thousand inhabitants; the U.S. has 19. The Soviet Union (260 million) has three times as many hospital beds as the United States. Pretty nice unless you are a Soviet infant (mortality rates up 13 per cent since 1960); or suffer from cervical cancer (only 40 per cent discovered in pre-terminal phase); or suffer respiratory disorders (it manufactures only a quarter of the respirators needed, and a third of them are out of whack); or have a bad heart (pacemakers are both imported and few); or need an X-ray (75 per cent of them are so bad as to be unreadable); or hate hospital food (hospital stays are two to three times as long as in the West—unless the patient is dying, in which case he is shipped home to keep hospital death statistics low); or

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ERA or Bust

They came, Miss, Ms., and Mrs.,
To Washington to try
In nine months still remaining
One final do-or-die.
But as the days grow shorter,
I ready my "amen"
To greet that blessèd morning
When NOW fades into THEN.

W. H. VON DREELE

are crippled (it doesn't make wheelchairs); or belong to just about any age group (death rates "for nearly every age group rose significantly" between the mid-Sixties and mid-Seventies—when the Soviet Union stopped giving out health statistics). Statistics courtesy the *New York Times*, in "The Week in Review," October 11, 1981.

■ British divers have completed recovery, from a warship sunk in WW II, of some four hundred ten-kilo bars of gold. A nice haul, originally sent by Stalin to pay for U.S. munitions. About which a couple of observations. One, the Soviets pay hard cash only for things they really want. Two, the Soviets do not have the technology to recover the gold themselves, in their own waters. Three, the gold was stamped with the two-headed eagle imprint of the czars; after looting the imperial treasury, Lenin and Stalin obviously did not care to squander it improving conditions for the working class. There, in sum, is a pretty good picture of what revolutionary government is all about.

■ Having wiped out its own bourgeoisie, with starvation, hard labor, and exile, Mainland China would now like to import the bourgeoisie of Taiwan. So far, it's an offer the Taiwanese, those inscrutable Orientals, have refused.

■ What if they gave a social program and nobody came? That's the very real problem currently faced by New York City, which set up a free medical care program for the poor of East Harlem. "Consequently," reports Ronald Sullivan in the *New York Times*, "like banks seeking to attract new depositors, the city is discussing a marketing strategy that would include offering prizes to those who enroll, such as free television sets and appliances." Sounds pretty funny, until you stop to reflect that this is about the starkest possible proof that some social programs exist primarily for the sake of those who run them.

■ Mary McGrory, we're pleased to report, has found a friend at Chase Manhattan—and Citibank, and Gulf Oil. These companies and others were lobbying against repeal of the Clark Amendment, which forbade U.S. aid of any kind, overt or covert, to those seeking to overthrow the Marxist regime in Angola. The companies have found the regime attractive because, as a Gulf Oil newsletter says, it's "reliable, cooperative, and very market-oriented." As the government of Chile knows, these qualities don't always appeal to liberal columnists, but Angola does have something that Chile doesn't: twenty thousand Cuban troops propping it up.

■ So now he's "Coolidgizing" the White House? Mr. Reagan must be doing even better than we thought.

■ The cost of hiring a "hit man" in Miami has reportedly fallen substantially in recent months, and you're still worrying about inflation?

■ Comedian Victor Borge, pleased at being knighted for the fourth time, says he has enough knights now for two weekends.

■ USELESS DOGGEREL:

Ronald Reagan, thinking, acts
To sell the Saudis four AWACS.
When he saw what he had done
He sold this country on B-1.

My Ronnie goes over the ocean;
My Ronnie goes over the sea;
My Ronnie sells AWACS to Saudis;
Oh, bring back the proceeds to me.

Keynes, Keynes, go away;
Don't come back another day.
When the Fed notes go to stay,
Gold and silver come out to play.

■ "Avila Beach, California—It was still dark Tuesday morning when the press began forming outside the main gate of the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant overlooking picturesque Avila Beach, awaiting blockaders from the Abalone Alliance. Seven hours later, when the 'assault' did come, the media army had swelled to possibly two hundred. Said a radio reporter: 'We have more people here than you'd need to film the landing at Iwo Jima.' . . . Cameramen inside the gate were filming cameramen outside the gate who were filming them. . . . A man on a motorcycle rode up to the gate. Media representatives rushed over to see who he was. Newspeople pressed against the chain-link fence, looking in like kids gawking at a candy store. Choppers flew overhead filming what

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was happening below, and they were filmed by cameramen on the ground. . . . It was after 1 P.M. when the blockaders arrived. . . . [They] held a sit-in, and that's where they were arrested later, peacefully, symbolically, and—above all—photogenically." (Howard Rosenberg, *Los Angeles Times.*)

■ That there is no dissension in revolutionary Iran is confirmed by the election of their third ruler this year, with 95.02 per cent of the vote, not to mention by the smooth elimination of dissenters, now at the rate of a hundred a day or more.

■ Sometimes bad news travels slowly, but last November the Oxford Union did it again. Back before World War II, the same outfit affirmed the Joad resolution, that "This House will in no circumstances fight for its King and Country." Last November, the Union voted on the proposition that "This House regrets the decline of American power and influence over world affairs." That House did *not* regret it, by a margin of 2 to 1. The negative case was argued by a Christ Church scholar named Belial.

Sadat: The Politics Of Assassination

In recent months, the finger of assassination has pointed in the direction of three men who have important things in common. All three are—and this would be conceded within the West even by those who disagree with them—*good* men, manifestly good; and also *courageous* men. Purely by being what they are—even apart from their policies—all three have wielded power in the international political equation.

Pope John Paul II immediately became a global presence. He is a powerful factor in the Soviet Union's Polish Problem. He is admired by millions who are entirely outside Catholic doctrine. A Turkish assassin, trained in Libya, nearly killed him.

President Reagan was shot by a lovesick weirdo. But Jack Anderson now reports, working from intelligence sources, that a Libyan plot against Reagan's life exists.

After the Camp David agreements, Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan dictator, put a $10-million price on Sadat's head. This was later raised to $15 million. In the same period, beginning under President Nixon, the U.S. spent $6 million to guard Sadat's life.

Sadat was one of the great men of our time. The British military rites at his funeral, however, held some irony. As an Egyptian nationalist, Sadat had sided with the Germans in World War II and was jailed by the British. He had sided with the enemy of his enemy. Later he said that a German victory would have been disastrous for Egypt.

He was, of course, an authoritarian ruler—and it is worth pausing over the striking fact that this has not been much commented upon. The media are unremittingly hostile to, for example, Chile and Argentina, but—at least where Sadat was concerned—they did seem to grasp the fact that a qualitative difference existed between his authoritarian rule and the kind of thing presided over by Qaddafi.

No one paid much attention to Sadat while Nasser held center stage, but, when he came to power after Nasser's death, Sadat attempted to change the world—and in part succeeded. He made the decision that Egypt would not become a Soviet client state. Then he threw out the Soviet ambassador and several other Soviet diplomats, and gave seven hundred Soviet advisors one week to go home. Sadat turned Egypt toward the West.

The Israelis had demolished Egyptian pride in the Six-Day War. Sadat rescued it in the Yom Kippur War, crossing the Suez and momentarily throwing the Israelis back. But then he also had the lonely, existential courage to go to Jerusalem, speak to the Knesset, and begin the peace process. Without Sadat's initiatives, Camp David would have been unthinkable. Before Camp David, the blundering Carter had been moving toward a Geneva Peace Conference, with the Soviets playing a renewed political role. Sadat knew a bad thing when he saw it.

Sadat, tragically, may have placed too much faith in the U.S.—in its willingness to deliver on the West Bank and on the Palestinian issue. Sadat got the Sinai, but the rest of the Arab world got zero. Begin quoted the Old Testament, and Israeli settlements mushroomed on the West Bank. Sadat was isolated in the Arab world.

For sheer human decency, add to Sadat's record the fact that he was the only world leader willing to give the deposed Shah a place to die peacefully. All the others were too busy kissing the Ayatollah's foot.

Sadat's pro-Western politics and his peace with Israel made Moslem fanatics his mortal enemies. A defecting Egyptian general, bankrolled in Libya by Colonel Muammar el-

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The American Writers' Congress

Victor Navasky, the clever fellow who edits *The Nation* and who organized the American Writers' Congress in Manhattan, October 9 to 12, told the *New York Times* that previous congresses in the Thirties and Forties were Communist Party fronts that "ultimately had secret agendas, and for that reason they were of limited cultural importance." A man who can speak that way obviously has no hidden agendas of his own. And Arthur Miller, a veteran of such affairs, said in his speech that previous congresses were "horrible" and "politicized."

Nevertheless, after spending three dismal days at the congress (begun with keynote addresses by authors Toni Morrison and Meridel Le Sueur, the latter a signer of the call to the first congress in 1935), one carries away little else but an image of the post-Stalinist "progressive" Left, having lost belief in Moscow as its moral center, running around in circles like a chicken with its head cut off. There is a sobering difference, though: this is a chicken that is gaining strength, however brainless it may be.

Writing was simply not the issue at this congress, which some three thousand attended. Could a real writer have composed this sentence, contained in the Statement of Principles: "It is impossible for writers to act effectively to defend and expand the dimensions of creative expression without facing up to the larger contexts in which the ever-increasing monopolization of cultural institutions excludes the unpopular and the powerless, and in which indifference to humanity places the physical survival of civilization itself at peril"? Nor would an assembly of serious writers tolerate, much less cheer, the insertion into their statement of principles of an amendment on "reproductive rights for women all over the world" (abortion). It was written by that celebrated writer, Jane Alpert—better known for her participation in Weatherman bomb-making, during which a house in Greenwich Village was blown up in the late Sixties.

E. L. Doctorow was present, and Mr. Miller, of course. More significant was the absence of Saul Bellow, John Updike, Tennessee Williams, Bernard Malamud, and other genuine writers. But no matter: it was a glittering array and it was all for the sake of the American writer faced with a "resurgence of political, racial, and cultural oppression." Where is all this oppression coming from? *The U.S.A., of course.* This correspondent heard only one reference in three days to the existence of Communist totalitarianism, and it came from Arthur Miller speaking fleetingly of China. E. L. Doctorow, on the other hand, defined oppression as the seduction of being accepted and made rich by the capitalist beasts. In summary, what a wonderful world it would be for writers, without the United States in the way.

This is not to say that there were not intelligent and unideological moments: there were panels that dealt with matters of real concern to writers—"The Tastemakers: Critics as Cultural Czars" (with John Simon, Nora Sayre, Margo Jefferson, Helen Yglesias); "What Happens to a Book When It Comes into a Publishing House?"; "The Writer in American Society"; "How the Culture Industry Shapes the Culture"; and panels or seminars on poetry, television, and screenwriting. And there were funny bits: the prim history writer, Kathryn Sklar, at a panel on "Have Writers Discarded History?" was assaulted by a fevered questioner demanding to know "which side" the panel was on. Professor Sklar began confidently: "It should be clear," stumbled, "the intelligentsia . . . ," bit her lip, and finally got it out: "to put it boldly," she said, "the working class." At another panel, a representative of "Redstockings" alleged that Gloria Steinem had once worked for the CIA.

The American Writers' Congress passed a resolution near its conclusion endorsing the principle of a national union of writers. The notion is dubious, the prospect dim.

In tone this Congress lacked the real belief, fervor, and traces of originality that radicalism in a more innocent time once inspired in Dos Passos, Dreiser, Farrell. (On Saturday evening the congress adjourned to a dance—sponsored by *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*—at a disco in, of course, SoHo.) The sources of this tone might be traced to a profound elitism: an underlying wish to ignore the real world outside, so as to be able to continue enjoying the benefits of a capitalist society while playing at revolution, knowing that it is a society that will reward, not punish, such antics. Individually there were many well-meaning and good souls there, as indeed there must have been in the Thirties. But "collectively," to use a term they might prefer, it was a gathering of unserious men and women electing to despise a society that embodies the values they profess and protects the art some of them want to create.

—JH

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Qaddafi, masterminded the plot that succeeded in killing him. Qaddafi combines Moslem fanaticism with strong Soviet ties. He has already threatened the new Egyptian leader, Hosni Mubarak, with assassination if he continues Sadat's policies. Qaddafi, on TV from Tripoli, rejoiced at Sadat's murder, and in Beirut PLO guerrillas danced in the streets.

Qaddafi is intolerable. He is a suitable strategic and moral object of Egypt's secret service.

As for the U.S., our commitment to help guard Sadat logically evolves into a commitment to help chase down his killer.

Babel Rebuffed

The Feds are starting to conclude
That teaching English may be shrewd.
With knowledge of the common tongue,
Some kids may get a job while young,
Vote, watch Dan Rather, or pursue
The latest NATIONAL REVIEW.
Although it's still too soon to tell,
What slips from Secretary Bell
Suggests bilingualism's through.
In New York, I shall not boo-hoo.

W. H. VON DREELE

Reagan's Strategic Mix

So the U.S. will get MX missiles—some to be ensconced in beefed-up old Titan silos, others to be deployed in ways still undetermined, but none to be circulated around sprawling ambits in the Western wilderness. Also—to help fill in strategic gaps until such time, still indefinite, as the hypothetical Stealth bomber becomes a practicable reality—the B-1 bomber project, in two versions, will get a reprieve from oblivion.

Those were the attention-grabbing elements in the $108-billion five-year strategic development program announced by the President and delineated by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. But there were other significant items, such as continued production of cruise missiles and conversion of B-52 bombers to ferry them, a slight slowing of Trident submarine production (to one a year), development of a heftier and more accurate type of submarine-launched ballistic missile with increased range, correction of vulnerabilities in command-control-communications systems, and a pledge of more energetic endeavors in civil defense. Additional projects—passed over in the presentation but bruited in technical journals—concern radar-proofing of cruise missiles, fighter planes, and bombers.

There are many questions. Will hardening up old missile silos help much to offset the improving accuracy of Soviet targeting? Will the B-1 bomber as finally available retain the formidable characteristics originally projected for it? Is a Stealth bomber that is big enough to carry a significant payload practicable? The central critical question is whether all the planned efforts in combination are sufficient to maintain a second-strike capability and thus to avert the prospective dangers summed up in the awkward metaphor of a window of vulnerability.

That phrase refers to a period of heightened threat posed by the Soviet Union's multiple-warhead SS-18s against U.S. land-based intercontinental missiles—with the U.S. forced to rely on launch-on-warning or launch-under-attack as a strategic deterrent. Such is a sure formula for strategic instability—and in extremity a hopeless expedient. The now jettisoned scheme for roving land-based MXs was conceived precisely as a safeguard against that sort of predicament.

That central question brings one to the existing limitations on anti-ballistic-missile systems—due for re-evaluation next year under terms of the SALT I Treaty. It is time for a prudent new look at ABM systems as an offset to Soviet offensive preponderance. One thing is certain: the Soviet Union is not going to abandon its strategic advantages in deference to U.S. importunities for reductions.

Come The Counter-Counter-Revolution

Just as panic over Reaganomics began fading away in quarters such as Wall Street and the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), it appeared within the Reagan Administration itself.

In September, CBO Director Alice Rivlin astonished Congress with her projections of declining budget deficits over the course of the Reagan Administration, and the Wall Street firm of Drexel, Burnham, Lambert published its view that "the evidence is mounting that we are moving in the direction of a lower inflation rate." The same month, the Reagan Administration began backing away from its program.

First, the Administration rewrote its explanation of inflation. Formerly the cause was held to be excessive money creation, and the remedy was tight money. After the rewrite, the blame for inflation is on budget deficits—which, as it happens, worsen under a regime of tight money. Now you know why Secretary Regan and Council of Economic Advisors Chairman Murray Weidenbaum ceased calling for the Fed to tighten and began calling for the Fed to loosen. The inflation rate

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was coming down too rapidly and the government's revenues down with it, thus worsening the budget deficit.

Next, the Administration, in the face of congressional opposition which included the Republican leadership, backed off its plan to control the deficit by further spending cuts, and proposed revenue-raising measures. In his latest televised speech the President mentioned $21 billion worth of "revenue-enhancing" proposals. The Treasury bureaucracy quickly dusted off Jimmy Carter's "tax reform" package to take away tax breaks from "special interests" like homeowners and investors. Just as quickly, the organized lobbies rushed to the Congress in defense of the "loopholes," and all of a sudden Republican senators were talking about putting off those just-enacted tax cuts a little longer and maybe taking some of them back. OMB thinks it's a good idea—otherwise, says the snipper, the budget won't be balanced in 1984.

Tip O'Neill is said to be dumbfounded by how quickly the train that ran him down came uncoupled. The Reagan strategy of balancing the budget through economic growth has been replaced with the traditional strategy of balancing the budget with higher inflation and higher taxes.

Supply-siders say it was the quickest counter-revolution in history. Reagan was in California. Regan was in Florida. And Kemp was out campaigning for the gold standard and against budget cuts.

Now for the counter-counter-revolution.

AWACS for the Saudis

The pulse was faint; the pressure low.
It looked like something out of Poe—
Then Dr. Reagan cleared the room,
And what seemed ready for the tomb
Began to tremble as a knee
Responded to the therapy.
Now nurses marvel as it preens,
Demanding jars of jelly beans.

W. H. VON DREELE

Think Again, Lane Kirkland

Defending the air controllers' illegal strike a few months ago, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland told a press conference:

> I don't believe you can deprive a person of what I regard as a basic inherent human right. He has that right individually and I believe that any basic human right a person has as an individual, he has a right to assert collectively.

From the standpoint of logic, Kirkland's enthymeme is a fallacy. From the standpoint of democratic political theory, the statement is subversive of democracy. From the standpoint of free trade unionism, the Kirkland doctrine, if implemented, would imperil his own AFL-CIO.

In logic, Kirkland's words exemplify the fallacy of composition, i.e., the assumption that what is true of a part is true of the whole. Perhaps the fallacy is better explained by means of an illustration: "Jimmy Carter is a Southerner and hopeless; therefore, the South is hopeless."

The first sentence of Kirkland's declaration is correct—up to a point. No man may be unlawfully imprisoned or turned into a slave. But it does not follow that there is a "basic inherent human right" to be an air controller—or, still less, to be a *striking* air controller when a law expressly forbids him, like other federal employees, to strike. An air controller's "basic inherent human right" is either to quit his position if wages and working conditions are unsatisfactory or else to stay on the job and, along with other controllers and other unionists, exercise his "basic inherent human right" of free speech and free assembly to agitate for a change in the law against strikes by air controllers.

Kirkland is asking for something which not even John Stuart Mill claimed—absolute liberty, a condition which exists in no democracy and in fact could not exist without destroying that democracy.

It is our contention that PATCO did not strike. Its members engaged in an act of civil disobedience against a law they didn't like. Their collective act of conscience collided with a provision in the Constitution (Art. II, Sec. 3) which says that the Chief Executive "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed . . ."

Now, President Reagan had two choices: support PATCO's civil disobedience, in which case he would be violating his own oath of office, or act against PATCO, which he did. The PATCO members were confronted by a principle enunciated by a pro-labor President, John F. Kennedy, who said: "Americans are free to disagree with the law but not to disobey it. For in a government of laws, no man, however powerful or prominent, and no mob, however unruly or boisterous, is entitled to defy a court of law."

Or as Sidney Hook, venerable philosopher and Social Democrat, once said: "To the extent that anything is demonstrable in human affairs, we have held that democracy as a political system is not viable if members systematically refuse to obey laws whose wisdom or morality they dispute."

But there is still another problem involved with the Kirkland doctrine of human rights. It was Tom Paine

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who said that there are no rights without duties. Elaborating that axiom, Maurice Cranston has written that "to speak of a universal right is to speak of a universal duty; to say that all men have a right to life is to impose on all men the duty of respecting human life, to put all men under the same prohibition against attacking, injuring, or endangering the life of any other human being. Indeed, if this universal duty were not imposed, what sense could be made of the concept of a universal human right?"

From the Paine-Cranston doctrine one can derive the corollary that a "basic inherent human right" is limited by the rule that others shall not be harmed by anyone's use of his freedom. Under the open-ended Kirkland thesis, there would be no limitation, let alone a prudent limitation, on a collective assertion of one or more human rights.

Democracies generally respect in war or peace the human right of a conscientious objector, but does that mean he has the right to seek converts in army camps or to block troop trains? What happens when the "basic inherent human right" of 25 printers at the London *Times* conflicts with the same right of two thousand other *Times* workers to *their* employment? If human rights are not involved in such an industrial dispute, then obviously human rights were not involved in the PATCO dispute.

Kirkland's statement would legitimate the claim of union leaders and members that they may flout any law which displeases them by a collective assertion that their basic inherent human rights are at risk. But, to quote Hook again, "resort to civil disobedience is never morally legitimate where other methods of remedying the evil complained of are available."

If Kirkland believes that in a democracy an individual act of conscience morally justifies a collective act of civil disobedience and that the President of the United States is duty-bound to respond favorably to such mass disobedience, than he has enunciated a principle which none of his predecessors ever espoused. And if he means what he says, then Kirkland has introduced something new and forbidding into the philosophy of American trade unionism.

Ulster Dawn?

The hunger strike failed, defeated in its political purposes by a resolute Thatcher government. Her tough stand was justified. Anything less would have handed the IRA a political victory and enhanced its leverage. After the demise of the strike, however, the Thatcher government moved quickly to relax some prison regulations and shorten the sentences of prisoners who obey the rules. Again, this was wise—a signal that flexibility exists, but not political weakness.

Meanwhile, the Irish Republic's Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald has been demonstrating his own courage and imaginativeness, proposing that the Irish Constitution be changed to eliminate provisions unacceptable to Protestants.

Thus the grim and, for some, suicidal confrontations of the past months may well have been the prelude to a negotiated federation of some sort satisfactory to both Catholics and Protestants, the Peace of Westphalia coming to bitter Ireland 333 years late.

'Neath the Elms

The counter-revolution in the Ivy League continues, pitting liberal professors and administrators against conservative students.

The latest battle erupted, oddly enough, over the *Yale Literary Magazine*. The *Lit*, a venerable but decrepit institution, was bought by its current owners for the sum of $1 in 1978, and transformed into a slick, four-color quarterly with Rolls-Royce ads. The table of contents began to include poems by people like Philip Larkin and Joseph Brodsky, and articles on subjects like Edmund Wilson and Marc Chagall. Along the way, the *Lit* also ran pieces of a decidedly conservative cast: urging the West to summon its will, attacking *The New York Review of Books*, assaying the dogma of "academic freedom."

Now lo! the *Hartford Courant* has run a two-page blast ("Literature, Politics / Mix Poorly at Yale"), the *Washington Post* has put reporters on the story, and New Haven echoes with the grinding of molars. "It's outrageous that the *Yale Lit* has become something personal and ideological," complains Professor John Hollander. What's outrageous, of course, is that the ideology of a university publication is not predictably left-of-center. When the editors of all the Ivy League newspapers greeted Ford's pardon of Nixon with a call for *Ford*'s impeachment, there wasn't a peep from the Hollanders.

Meanwhile, up in Hanover, New Hampshire, an anonymous college official, "speaking off the record" (whatever that means), told the *Boston Globe* that the conservative student weekly, *The Dartmouth Review*, is "pretty hard on the blacks and the Indians and the women. . . . It's sort of a little corner of the Ku Klux Klan." Presumably, the official's lawyers will lean heavily on the ambiguity of "sort of" if this defamation ever comes to court.

The trend at Yale and Dartmouth recalls in some ways the Twenties and Thirties. Then, too, university students flexed their talents, twitted the administrators, flouted the pieties. Whittaker Chambers withdrew from Columbia because of a blasphemous play about Christ he published in *The Morningside*. But

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the Old Guard now is liberalism, and blasphemy is assaulting *The New York Review of Books*. Let the battle rage.

Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

The central panel of the Bicentennial Monument of the Battle of Yorktown (featured on our cover), was executed by Felix de Weldon, sculptor of the Iwo Jima monument in Washington. The figures are of Generals Lafayette, Washington, and Rochambeau. Two flanking pylons (still to be executed) will show Admiral de Grasse in front of the French fleet to the left, and, to the right, the story of the Battle of Yorktown, to be told in gold letters on black, in English and French. The monument was unveiled in Bicentennial ceremonies at Surrender Field—where General O'Hara surrendered Cornwallis's sword to General Lincoln, whom Washington had designated to receive it—at 4:30 P.M. on October 19, at Yorktown, Virginia. (Historical footnote: General Lincoln held the sword for a few moments, then returned it to General O'Hara in tribute to the bravery of the British.)

■ *Remarks by William F. Buckley Jr. at a testimonial dinner for Russell Kirk at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington on Thursday, October 1, 1981. Eight other tributes were heard.* *(See page 1263.)*

Except that we are here to honor Russell Kirk, by this time in the proceedings it would have been, however inappropriate to say, nevertheless true to say—that, really, there is nothing left to say. But a dozen tributes, in the case of Russell Kirk, do not even skirt redundancy, let alone comprehensiveness. The evening was not planned with the exactitude of a *Festschrift*. Given the stochastic proceedings organized by our beloved friend Don Lipsett—around whose image I propose upon retirement to fabricate a necktie, and grow rich from so abundant a documentation of supply-side economics—some of Russell's achievements will several times have been mentioned, the evening having ignored, entirely, many others.

With this in mind, I charged the researchers of NATIONAL REVIEW to go beyond Kirk the renowned historian, Kirk the editor, Kirk the journalist, Kirk the educator, Kirk the family man, Kirk the writer of fiction, Kirk the doyen of important American ghosts. The report of their findings, although not surprising, is testimony to the extraordinary versatility of the man we meet here to honor.

—Did you know, for instance, that Russell Kirk writes most of the lines for Archie Bunker? It is a part of the commercial covenant that Russell must pretend to hate television; indeed, it is probable that he would even go so far as to say he has no idea who Archie Bunker is, even after creating the locus classicus of the ignorant and bigoted American conservative. But, you see, Russell is trained in the dissimulative arts, as witness that,

—It was he, we discover, who installed the tape system in the White House for Richard Nixon. The President did not entrust the exercise to a mere mechanic, insisting instead on a true humanist. For this one, he told Mr. Haldeman, "I need a Renaissance man." And so, in January of 1969, that considerable hiatus at Piety Hill, which resulted in no daughters being born to Mrs. Kirk in October of 1969, was spent by Russell not in delivering the Burke Lectures on the Isle of Man, as advertised; but in the White House where, every morning, dressed as an electrician, Russell first consulted a catalogue to remind himself which was the screwdriver, which the microphone; and, as we all know, the system worked.

—Finally, there are those who do not know what exactly are the concessions that Mr. Allen is agreeing to in the matter of the proposed sale of the AWACS airplanes to Saudi Arabia. It has been touch and go, but only yesterday the President gave the okay. If Israel will agree to permit the Saudis to get the AWACS, Russell Kirk will agree to render instructions on how to fly them in that jargonistic English whose obscurity he has so devastatingly exposed. Thus, the Saudis would get the AWACS, and the Israelis would be assured that they would never get them off the ground.

In the few minutes I have I must be personal, for reasons professional and personal.

In this room, as it happens, are the only two persons, myself excluded, who have figured regularly in NATIONAL REVIEW throughout the 25 years of its existence. The first is the incomparable Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, who two nights ago in my house explained to my astonished guests how history will quite probably regret that we won the First World War. The other is Russell Kirk.

In 1954, I flew to Michigan. I had a single objective, and I greatly feared that I would fail in it. I desired that Professor Kirk would consent, beginning with the opening issue, to contribute a regular column to NATIONAL REVIEW on doings of the academic world.

I confess I was very nervous. Although Russell was only a few years older, at 28 I felt that an entire world lay between us, and this is so today as, with dismay, I

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contemplate how very much he knows, that I shall never know—that ever-widening gulf between his learning, and my own. He was then a bachelor, and shortly after I arrived he took me to dinner at a neighborhood restaurant, where he ordered Tom Collinses for both of us. Emboldened by that warm aloofness which is his trademark, I put it to him directly, and his reply was instantaneous: Yes, he would be glad to write a regular column for my prospective magazine. I was so elated by his spontaneous and generous willingness to associate his august name with that of a wizened ex-schoolboy known mostly for an iconoclastic screed directed at his alma mater, that I took to ordering more Tom Collinses, but in every case, one for each of us. The evening proceeded toward a pitch of such hilarity that, at midnight, I barely was able to drive the car back to Russell's house. On arriving, he led me to my bedroom, bade me goodnight only a second before I collapsed into my bed, to rise seven hours later and bump into Russell only then emerging from his study. He had, in the interval since dinner, written a chapter of his history of St. Andrews College, and would be catching a little sleep after he served me breakfast.

In 25 years he never missed a deadline. At his wedding to what Russell's newspaper column readers resigned themselves finally to acknowledging as "the beauteous Annette," I thought that possibly the most useful gift I might give him would be a honeymoon's-length moratorium from his column, since he was off to Scotland. But, shortly before ascending the altar, when I stammered out the proposal, he responded by reaching into the pocket of his morning coat and coming up with—four columns. Perfectly typed. Perfectly edited. Brilliantly executed. Not many know personally the extraordinary professionalism of Russell Kirk, which matches that of Sam Johnson and G. K. Chesterton. No one, my sister Priscilla apart, knows this better than I, and I salute him for it.

"$5,550 for 444 days. Doesn't that qualify the hostages for food stamps or welfare?"

It is of course, as has been suggested, inconceivable to imagine an important, let alone hope for a dominant, conservative movement in America, without his labor. The quantity and quality of it is staggering: that we all know. Reflecting on his formidable work one's mind rests principally, I think, on Russell's knowledge of the critical importance of what came before, of the intellectual treasures of the past, as Victor Milione reminded us. His perspective on the matter is so clear that he recognizes that *every* generation is dependent on what came earlier, to which insight he devoted the epigraph of *A Program for Conservatives*, published by Henry Regnery in 1954. "Long before our time," Cicero wrote in his *De Re Publica*, "the customs of our ancestors molded admirable men, and in turn these eminent men upheld the ways and institutions of their forebears. Our age, however, inherited the Republic like some beautiful painting of bygone days, its colors already fading through great age; and not only has our time neglected to freshen the colors of the picture, but we have failed to preserve its form and outlines."

But, applied to America, that is less true today than it was 25 years ago when Russell adduced it, as an epigraph fitting not only for Rome, but prospectively for America. And the difference, between then and now, is substantially of his own doing. Because, beginning about then, Russell Kirk left the academy; did so notwithstanding his knowledge that academic men are peculiarly unsuited for public life. "Yet though I know these dreadful truths," he wrote in that same book, "and though I am a doctor of letters, and an historian of sorts, in this little book I venture into the dark and bloody ground of political policy, naked unto mine enemies; and I do this not out of foolhardiness, but because the men of affairs who are supposed to be applying the tenets of philosophy to the affairs of nations are doing nothing of the sort—or, at least, when they make such an essay at all, they commonly behave as abstractly and imprudently as if they were so many professors."

But that has changed. In this room are Richard Allen, John East, Martin Anderson, Aram Bakshian, and Bill Casey, men as much at home in the academy as in these other, bloody grounds of which Cicero and Russell spoke. He, as much as anyone, made this possible; and so I take, with pride, the pleasure of telling him, publicly, that the republic of which Cicero spoke as an evanescent institution, in this case survives, owing no debt more heavy, nor recognizing any more gladly, than that—to you. **—WFB**

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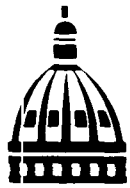
The Current WISDOM



The Percy-Tower Turf War

WINSTON

THE GOP CHAIRMAN of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John Tower, is successfully raiding the jurisdiction of Chuck Percy's Foreign Relations Committee. White House hardliners who have backed the incursions are jubilant. White House softliners who say we have only one chairman at a time are jittery. Areas that Tower wants to carve out from Percy's *Aufgabe* include foreign military aid, arms sales, revolving funds for U.S. allies' defense purchases, and the leasing of defense property to foreign governments—all of which are of salient concern to the White House.

The high-level Reaganites who support the Tower gerrymander have not been put off by his sharp and public differences with the Reagan Administration on the MX basing mode. They see this deviation as transient and limited. Percy, on the other hand, since his reelection to the Senate in 1978, has shown himself to be unsympathetic to virtually every foreign-policy position favored by Ronald Reagan.

Percy has opposed the B-1 bomber, favored the Panama Canal Treaties, opposed the then pro-Western government of Rhodesia, backed Jimmy Carter's doveish appointees, sandbagged Ernest Lefever, pushed too early and too hard for resumption of arms limitations talks with the Soviets, staged a quixotic visit to Moscow (thereby incurring vast embarrassment for himself and his party when confidential State Department cables were leaked revealing his controversial and softish weapons control and Middle East views), culpably temporized over Reagan's nominees (save Haig), put foreign-policy bipartisanship too far ahead of loyalty, and in general chaired his committee with all the authority and intelligence of a wet noodle.

On domestic issues, Percy's voting record has been equally disaffecting, say White House hardhats. He voted against Jesse Helms's school-prayer amendment, in favor of the creation of a Department of Education, against restricting federal money for abortions, against tightening up on food stamps, against an anti-busing amendment. In 1980, Percy ranked eighth—tied with Heinz and Durenberger—in votes *against* his party, after, in declining order, Weicker (ugh), Chafee, Javits, Mathias, Stafford, Packwood, and Hatfield.

White House hardliners believe that it is foolhardy to stand idly by and permit its policy centerpieces to be damaged and shunted aside by what amounts to a highly placed Republican quisling, especially when there are discreet ways of altering his behavior or neutralizing it. For example, bypass Percy's recommendations in the selection of circuit judges throughout his home state of Illinois (accomplished); hold up his candidate for U.S. Attorney (accomplished); shrink his foreign relations fiefdom through John Tower's not insubstantial insinuations (in process). Should Percy resist the Tower encroachments, the White House can squeeze harder through yet harsher patronage treatment, notably appointments of federal judges, and Percy knows this.

Softliners at the White House view the Percy/Tower turf war differently, and they regard support for Tower in this power contest as short-sighted. If you succeed in getting Tower a piece of the action, they say, you haven't really taken away anything from Percy. All you've done is put any given issue into *two* committees, doubling the work (lobbying, testimony, paper), doubling committee veto potential, and tripling (or worse) delay.

Furthermore, softliners stress, the What-do-we-do-about-Chuck? problem was self-inflicted. Republicans are simply reaping what they themselves have sown. For many years, Republicans have ignored the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, letting Jack Javits and his friends wreak their havoc. So any Republican who chairs that committee, Percy or whoever, would be inexperienced and initially hamhanded. Secondly, it was Ronald Reagan, alas, with Jack Kemp and Orrin Hatch, who rescued Percy's last Senate race (1978) from the jaws of defeat by campaigning for him in Illinois against his more conservative and far more anti-Communist opponent, Democrat Alex Seith, who was cutting into Percy's crucial Republican strength.

On Percy's election eve, Ronald Reagan made the famous statement, "When you add it all up, there are more things we [Reagan and Percy] agree on than disagree on." Those who have done their own mental arithmetic on this have come up with a different story and conclude that by "more things we agree on" the President must have been talking about cowboy boots, California wines, and White House china, not public-policy issues.

PERCY apologists on the Reagan staff point out that Percy's bipartisan foreign-policy emphasis is sound and needed, and that it comports with the President's own preference as evidenced by his appointment of Democrat Jeane Kirkpatrick to the UN. (A strong point, as can be observed by looking at the ideological and personality composition of Democrats on Percy's committee—a fractious bunch if there ever was one.) Finally, there is the Percy learning curve: he is better now than he was when he took over eight months ago.

So what is the current wisdom? Double-track it. Let Tower deal directly with the White House where he is comfortable. Let Percy deal directly with State (especially Haig) where he is comfortable. Encourage Tower. Direct Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker to sit on his hands, and *not* tell Tower to Cool It. (Baker doesn't want to take on Tower anyway, and won't.) Concurrently, let the White House issue public statements of support for Chuck from highish levels.

No one is going to rein in John Tower anyway. So let's everybody sit back and enjoy it. □

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Toward a Foreign Policy — The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

IT IS CHASTENING for a professional observer of events to remind himself of the advantages of irresponsibility. Some of us, by the sheer passage of years, have a much longer awareness of contemporary history than younger men in office. But in the end, we are not the ones who take the decisions, who have to balance the imperatives of strategy and international security, of ideological or party political pressures, of expediency and unpopularity. Would we do any better if some quirk of fortune placed us in power, bearing in mind that in our democracies, the tenure of power tends to be short and the going undesirably rough?

Looking at the foreign policies of the West (if they deserve the exalted label) after brief stays in Paris and Washington, and from the general perspective of London, I am prompted to some reflections, mostly gloomy.

To me, for instance, an observer who started taking notice professionally in 1936, the needs of foreign policy are blindingly clear, and its practice, right now, disjointed and incoherent. The needs, first. The requirements of security must take precedence over those of short-term economic advantage: if they do not, the opportunities of economic advantage will vanish, along with life and liberty (and of course the pursuit of happiness).

Oh, To Be Beastly

So clear does this order of precedence seem to me that I should describe it as axiomatic; yet a cursory glance at applied foreign policy shows that the axiomatic is not—as a rule, not an exception—accepted as such.

Britain's foreign policy, for instance, appears to be dominated by short-term economic calculations, in which the fear of escalating unemployment and failure at the polls looms large. As regards the crucial area of southern Africa (one of the critical survival points in World War III), for instance, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Britain's policy is dominated by the question: What will the Nigerians think? (Why the Nigerians? Because Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and Britain has some large and potentially lucrative contracts there which, it is reasoned, might have been canceled if Lord Carrington had not called for the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from their recent incursion into Angola.)

It is to the clear advantage of the German Federal Republic not to allow the Soviet Union and its East German satellite to acquire a stranglehold over the West German economy. Nevertheless, the Schmidt government is about to sign a massive contract with the Soviet Union for the delivery of many miles of pipeline, the deal to be financed by the German banks on relatively easy terms, "repayment" to be—sometime or other—in the form of deliveries of Soviet gas. Already the West Germans' dependence on Soviet imperial gas is about 20 per cent: under the new deal, it will rise to 30 per cent. If, at a time of crisis, the Soviets feel like turning off the tap, the German taxpayers will have time and leisure to reflect on the follies of their rulers.

At this late and desperate stage of the game, there is one criterion of foreign policy that ought to take priority over all others: does a proposed course of action help or hinder the Soviet imperial drive? Other considerations may or may not be important in their own right, or valid in isolation: none should ever take precedence over the key question.

Apply the criterion to southern Africa. The pattern of the Soviet drive is clear. Having established hegemony over Angola and Mozambique (the lasting consequence of the Portuguese revolution of 1975), the Soviets now want to extend their power through proxy to Namibia and Zimbabwe, thus completing the isolation of South Africa. Walvis Bay (South Africa's harbor enclave in Namibia) will be next on the list; then the great prize itself: those strategic minerals, all that gold.

The UN, having done the work of Soviet imperialism by recognizing the claims of SWAPO to represent the Namibian people, must itself be treated as a party to the conflict, not as an impartial peacemaker. That is why the British panic response to the South African penetration of Angola was utterly short-sighted; and why the U.S. response was impeccable.

The same criterion applies to Central America and the Caribbean. What do the Soviets want? Having acquired (through their Cuban proxies) control of Nicaragua, they threaten El Salvador and Guatemala. The latter is not merely a stepping-stone to Mexico, but oil-rich in its own right. Is the Reagan Administration going to stop the rot? It can and must. And the old immunity of Cuba must be shown to be lifted.

Gloomy Outlook

In the Middle East, whatever the views of some senators about the provision of AWACS for Saudi Arabia, the vital interest of the United States and the West lies in:

—Ensuring, beyond all hazards, the integrity of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Oman (which commands the strategic Straits of Hormuz).

—Being ready to prevent a Tudeh (Communist) takeover in Iran in the wake of the collapsing mullahs.

—Thwarting and if possible unseating Colonel Qaddafi.

—Talking sense into Menachem Begin.

In a more positive vein, the security of the United States (and therefore of many other countries) lies in making absolutely sure of its extra-territorial supplies of energy and strategic minerals; which implies in the first instance the security of the Western Hemisphere, and in tandem the security of the South Atlantic.

And Europe? Alas, the disastrous play of party politics (upon which my views are, I suppose, known) has brought a discouraging prospect. Fortuitous circumstances could bring an anti-America, anti-NATO, and anti-EEC government to power in London. In France, it is hard to decide whether to wish the new government success or failure. Success would create a pre-Communist economic and social system; failure could produce widespread unrest. In Germany the only hope lies in the collapse of the present coalition. □

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YORKTOWN

Two Hundred Years Ago We Won Our Independence

THOMAS WENDEL

If buttercups buzzed after the bee,
If boats were on land, churches on sea,
If ponies rode men and grass ate the cows,
And cats should be chased to holes by the mouse,
If the mamas sold their babies to the gypsies for half a crown;
Summer were spring and t'other way round,
Then all the world would be upside down.

—*William Cowper,* The World Turned Upside Down

ENGLAND RECEIVED the devastating news from Yorktown in November 1781. Cornwallis and his entire army had fallen to the Americans. "Alas! What course can Government take?" exclaimed William Cowper. "I have heard," he continued,

> that if a man grasp a red-hot iron with his naked hand, it will stick to him, so that he cannot presently disengage himself from it. Such are the colonies in the hands of administration. While they hold them, they burn their fingers, and yet they must not quit them.

Though Yorktown inspired these lines, Cowper's metaphor would have applied at any time over the preceding seven years.

In the beginning, the king's government believed it would be a quick war involving New England only. The springing into existence of a Continental Army and Bunker Hill disabused them of that notion. They next attempted to end the war in the middle colonies. Centering their main effort at New York, they thought to cut off New England by gaining control of the Hudson River. Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga ended that idea.

The capture of Burgoyne's army, in fact, proved a major turning point. France, still smarting from her humiliating defeat by England in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), now joined the struggle as an ally of the United States. This concatenation of events in the fall and winter of 1777-78 spurred the clamoring parliamentary opposition to demand an end to the unpopular and costly American war. The ministry of Lord North, however, adroitly argued that quitting America would not only free France for activities nearer home, but also leave America's Loyalists in the lurch. The Loyalists, in fact, now took a central place in the ministry's strategy; there need be no further resources expended in America. The Loyalists would do the job of pacification if only the troops already in America were properly utilized.

And that proper disposition was in the American South. Here the Loyalists, so went the myth, awaited in overwhelming numbers to be freed of the tyrannical sway of King Mob. Squeezed between British regular troops along the coastal plain and marauding Indians on the frontier, further encumbered by restive blacks, the rebels would easily be defeated. The Loyalists, undoubtedly a majority, would flock to the royal standard. The South regained, what then? Either overwhelm the northern states with combined naval and military power or let them go their erring way. Unlike the South, they supplied England with few raw materials. New England, in particular, was more detriment than asset even in the best of circumstances.

So the British turned their inexorable way toward Yorktown. The new southern strategy may be gauged from statistics: previous to 1780, some 72 per cent of the British troops were encamped in New York; by the fall of that year, the ratio had fallen to 41 per cent in New York against 59 per cent in the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia.

Georgia, youngest of the colonies, was the first to fall. Adjacent to British East Florida, menaced by hostile Indians, Georgia succumbed in January 1779, to the British forces of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell and Brigadier General Augustine Prevost.

With Georgia out of the war, the British turned their attention to South Carolina. First it was necessary during the remainder of 1779 to consolidate their New York position, which included the evacuation of Rhode Island and Philadelphia. That accomplished, Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, accompanied by the fleet of Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot, set

Mr. Wendel, a professor of history at San Jose State University and a previous contributor to NR, *has written widely on American history. His most recent publication is "Benjamin Franklin: Educator," a chapter in the newly revised edition of* Meet Dr. Franklin, *published by Franklin Institute Press.*

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As you probably know . . .

Bill Buckley has been writing a series of spy thrillers that have become bestsellers. *Who's on First* is the one you will find selling in bookstores right now (a new one is coming up soon!). All chronicle the daring (and *brainy*, of course!) adventures of Blackford Oakes, a dashing ex-Yale CIA agent. One of his best and most intriguing assignments occurred in *Stained Glass*, a book now rather hard to come by.

But we happen to have a number of copies of *Stained Glass* in the original hardcover edition (retail price $8.95) and if you don't yet have any of these exciting books (or not *this* one) here is a great opportunity to get your own copy.

Right now we are offering a hardcover copy of *Stained Glass* FREE and postpaid to you if you'll do us the favor of subscribing to *National Review* magazine (or renewing your present subscription, no matter when it expires) for the full year (26 issues) at no more than the current $24 rate. That's right: you get this $8.95 book absolutely FREE if you take advantage of this offer *now*!

Stained Glass, by the way, is winner of an American Book Award, and the perfect example of *why* these Blackford Oakes novels have won such critical acclaim. They're much *more* than mere thrillers (only Bill Buckley would dare add all the other elements, marvelous stuff you won't find in anybody else's novels!). This one takes place some seven years after World War II (round about when Buckley himself was in the CIA . . .), and has plenty of action and a plot that will keep you guessing right up to the final pages. More, it really *does* involve *Stained Glass* — and what you learn will illuminate that fascinating art as do the windows themselves (i.e., you'll see it all from the inside).

Again, don't miss this opportunity to get this famous thriller *free*. Just use the card facing this page right now.

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sail with 8,500 troops for Charleston. Landing thirty miles to the south of the city, ultimately building his forces to 14,000 men, Clinton slowly made his approach. The siege of Charleston began in early April 1780. On May 12, the hopelessly outnumbered Americans under General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered. It was the greatest single loss suffered by the Americans during the entire Revolutionary War.

★‖ *Quintessential Englishman*

The southern strategy could now be put to the test. The presence of the British army would energize South Carolina's latent Loyalism. With the pacification of South Carolina, North Carolina, where it was believed Loyalism was everywhere the overwhelming sentiment, would naturally follow. General Clinton returned to New York. He left his second in command, Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis, first Marquis and second Earl Cornwallis, in charge.

This noble lord, whose ancestors enjoyed national prominence over four centuries, represented the quintessence of the eighteenth century English governing class: character, pride, loyalty, humanity, a certain masculine impetuosity, a hardy strength literally matured on "the playing fields of Eton" and in years of fighting England's continental wars. One of only five peers in the House of Lords to vote in 1766 against the Declaratory Act (which stated parliamentary supremacy over the colonies), Earl Cornwallis followed his king into a war with the justification of which he was unsympathetic.

In the Carolinas, however, a leader such as Cornwallis was miscast. He was not trained for guerrilla warfare. At Eton, one fought man to man, team against team in open battle. To the dismay, then the frustration of the British, the Carolinas were less a battlefield than a battle jungle. More than elsewhere in America, the Carolinas were the scene of civil war. Their Loyalists proved a weak reed. Given General Clinton's draconian threats against those who aided the enemy, loyal-leaning Americans were damned (by the British) if they did, and damned (by the patriots) if they did not. Where Cornwallis was, so was Loyalism. Loyalism disintegrated in direct proportion to distance from British arms.

To his credit, the Earl came to recognize this essential reality. Pushing to the north, he dealt a devastating blow to the Americans at Camden; the South Carolina back country remained aflame. Stretching his lines of communication dangerously thin, Cornwallis pushed into North Carolina. Here, his doubts about the Loyalists were definitively confirmed. A few hundred men joined his army to form a Loyalist legion, but, except where he held sway, the elusive rebels controlled the countryside.

They were also under superb command. The brilliant tactician Nathanael Greene was now in charge of the southern theater. His second in command was the superb soldier Daniel Morgan. Other leaders emerged whose names now are synonymous with partisan warfare: Thomas Sumter, the "Gamecock," and the veteran Indian fighter Andrew Pickens, both of whose plantations had been plundered by foraging British troops. And there was the famous "Swamp Fox," Francis Marion, whose exploits would eventually take on something of the mythical in the hands of his first biographer, Parson Weems.

Sumter, Pickens, and Marion were but three of the dozens of partisan leaders who emerged in the bloody guerrilla warfare of 1780-81. At Charlotte, Cornwallis was cruelly harassed by the dashing cavalry leader William Davie and the English-hating Scotch-Irish partisans under William Lee Davidson. To the west near the Blue Ridge, such famous "over-mountain men" as Isaac Shelby and John Sevier, founders of Kentucky and Tennessee, led their frontier sharpshooters on October 7, 1780 to a stinging victory over Major Patrick Ferguson's Loyalist troops at King's Mountain.

The death of Ferguson and the loss of his corps forced Cornwallis to beat a bloody retreat back into South Carolina. Reinforced by 2,500 men from New York, Cornwallis again pushed north, this time to have his cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton ("Bloody Tarleton," as he was known from his alleged execution of surrendered patriots) decimated by Daniel Morgan's army at Cowpens, January 17, 1781. Morgan now withdrew north. Cornwallis, dumping wagons and heavy equipment, gave chase while Greene hurried north to join Morgan. After incredible hardships, the exhausted armies confronted one another—gratefully for the Earl, in the Eton manner—at Guilford Court House where, on March 15, the British carried the day. But like Bunker Hill, Guilford Court House was a pyrrhic victory: Cornwallis's army suffered 532 casualties, over one-quarter of the troops engaged. "Another such victory," wrote one English observer, "would destroy the British army."

Cornwallis withdrew his tatterdemalion troops to Wilmington. Partisan activity, meanwhile, threatened to reduce the British presence in the lower South to a harassed salient against the sea. The Earl now reasoned that the lower South could not be held unless the British were in control of Virginia. On April 10 he wrote a fateful note to Clinton in New York:

> I cannot help expressing my wishes, that the Chesapeake may become the Seat of War (if necessary) at the expense of abandoning New York; until Virginia is in a manner subdued our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious.

Two weeks later, he decamped 1,500 regulars for Petersburg, where he joined the troops of General Phillips and the turncoat Arnold. It was during this foray that Tarleton routed the Virginia Assembly at Charlottesville and nearly captured Governor Jefferson. Outnumbered by troops of "the boy" Lafayette, "Mad Anthony" Wayne, and the Virginia militia, Cornwallis with his now close to seven thousand troops backed off toward the Chesapeake. His design was to await enough reinforcements to deal a knockout blow in Virginia. Clinton, who had disapproved of the move into Virginia, nevertheless believed that from a Chesapeake base, Philadelphia and southern Pennsylvania could be conquered. Unlike Cornwallis, Clinton clung to the Loyalist myth; Loyalism was said to be rife in the lower Pennsylvania counties. The crucial difference in the objectives of Clinton and Cornwallis helps explain the British debacle of Yorktown.

Yorktown in 1781 looked not very unlike the present village perched on the banks overlooking the York River.

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Across the river's half-mile breadth lay a point of land with the smaller town of Gloucester at its tip. Two hundred houses high on a bluff commanded a fine view of the river, while another sixty houses were located near the water's edge. There were several splendid public buildings, inns, churches, and a brick courthouse. One English visitor to this village of some three thousand inhabitants found it "a pleasant town. . . . There are several good Gentlemen's houses built of brick and some of their gardens laid out with the greatest taste of any I have seen in America."

Cornwallis made one of these "good Gentlemen's houses" —that of former Virginia Secretary Thomas Nelson, father of the man who succeeded Jefferson as governor—his headquarters when he occupied Yorktown in early August 1781. The Earl was not unaware of a possible French naval threat in the Chesapeake, but he was confident that invincible British naval power would protect him. At Yorktown, he would await the reinforcements necessary for success in Virginia.

A medal struck under the direction of Benjamin Franklin celebrates the defeat of two British armies, the first at Saratoga on October 17, 1777, the second at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. On one side, the infant Hercules, representing the United States, strangles two serpents, while Minerva (France), with spear, helmet, and shield, is engaged in a contest with the British lion. The motto is Non Sine Diis Animosus Infans. *On the other side is the head of Liberty, and the date of American independence, July 4, 1776.*

★ America's Low Point

While Cornwallis unhurriedly built his defenses, Washington chafed at the prolonged inaction in the northern theater. His army appeared on the verge of disintegration. Congress could afford little other than promises to pay. The troops signed for short enlistments and received even shorter rations. Morale crumbled. The cause, it seemed, would die of inanition: Washington, from his Morristown encampment, fruitlessly glared at Clinton in his well-fortified New York City headquarters. The year 1780, in fact, marked a low point in American fortunes; it was the third year of debilitating stalemate in the North, the year of Benedict Arnold's treason and the loss of Charleston and Camden in the South. Nevertheless, the arrival of General Rochambeau with some five thousand troops at Newport, Rhode Island in July of that year set the stage for the final act of the drama.

Had they possessed adequate naval support, Washington and Rochambeau would have aimed a concerted attack at New York. As it was, the waiting game continued into the summer of 1781. On August 14, the same time that Cornwallis was occupying Yorktown, Washington received a letter the significance of which he immediately recognized. French Admiral de Grasse was sailing north from the West Indies with an entire fleet and some 3,300 troops under the command of the Marquis Saint-Simon. "The whole," wrote de Grasse, "will be embarked in vessels of war, from 25 to 29 in number . . . which will proceed directly to the Chesapeake Bay."

Leaving only some 2,500 militia under General Head to guard the Morristown/West Point area against Clinton's 17,000 men, the audacious Washington and Rochambeau began their epochal march south. Crossing the Hudson to deceive Clinton, they pretended an encampment as if to attack Staten Island; they reached Philadelphia before the British commander awoke to the danger. There the troops, increasingly restive the further they were from their own states, demanded a month's pay in hard money. Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris met their demand by borrowing $20,000 from the war chest of Rochambeau. By September 6, the result of a remarkable forced march of two hundred miles in 15 days, the combined French and American forces were at the head of Chesapeake Bay.

Now, by water and land (Washington briefly stopping by Mt. Vernon, from which he had been separated six years), they reconnoitered near Williamsburg; by September 28, they were massed before Yorktown. Their leadership was a veritable roll of fame: Washington, Lafayette, von Steuben, Henry Knox, Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Lincoln, John Peter Muhlenberg, Alexander Hamilton, John Laurens. Their forces numbered five thousand Continentals, three

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thousand militia, and eight thousand French troops: sixteen thousand in all.

De Grasse, meanwhile, had arrived off the capes guarding the entrance to the Chesapeake on August 30. There on September 5 he beat off the outnumbered laggard British fleet under Admirals Graves and Hood, who limped back to New York. De Grasse's fleet numbered 24 ships of the line, of which the 110-gun flagship *Ville de Paris* was the greatest warship on the seas. With the addition of eight ships under Admiral de Barras, who sailed from Newport, the French were undisputed masters of Chesapeake Bay.

Cornwallis, during all of these remarkably well-coordinated allied land and sea maneuvers, may have been lulled into an uncharacteristic lethargy by will-o'-the-wisp promises of aid from General Clinton at New York. In any case, he had barely completed hasty fortifications in time. Against the allied mass, he had only some 5,700 British, German, and Loyalist troops fit for battle, to which he could add some eight hundred seamen from several transports and two frigates which had withdrawn up the York during the battle with de Grasse. Surrounded, by sea and land, Cornwallis knew that his survival depended upon succor from New York. He would hold out as long as possible. In order to tighten his lines and save his army, on the night of September 28 Cornwallis withdrew from his outer defense works. His inner line ran around the town in a semicircle, at the east end of which were the last two of ten redoubts.

On October 9, George Washington had the honor of firing the opening salvo of the siege. The allies followed the parallel-line approach outlined in the classic *Mémoire pour servir d'instruction dans la conduite des sièges* by Louis XIV's great military engineer, the Marquis de Vauban. On October 12, the allies had almost completed their second parallel. Their artillery—the French were the finest artillerists in Europe—now poured deafening destruction into Yorktown. "I have more than once," wrote army surgeon James Thacher, "witnessed fragments of the mangled bodies and limbs of the British soldiers thrown into the air by the bursting of our shells . . ." The only protection was in caves in the river bank. On the 14th, the second parallel was swiftly completed when redoubts Nine and Ten were seized, the latter by a storming party of four hundred men led by Alexander Hamilton. The night of October 16, the Earl attempted a crossing of the York River under cover of darkness. This faint hope was extinguished by a violent squall which scattered the British transports, making a Gloucester landing impossible.

The Ballad of Yorktown

Cornwallis led a country dance,
  The like was never seen, sir.
Much retrograde and much advance,
  And all with General Greene, sir.

Now hand in hand they circle round
  This ever-dancing pair, sir:
Their gentle movements soon confound
  The earl as they draw near, sir.

His music soon forgets to play—
  His feet can no more move, sir,
And all his bands now curse the day
  They jiggèd to our shore, sir.

Now Tories all, what can ye say?
  Come—is not this a griper,
That while your hopes are danced away,
  'Tis you must pay the piper?

Washington's Sweet Revenge

At 10 A.M., October 17, the fourth anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, Cornwallis posted high a signal drum which could not be heard over the deafening roar of the cannon, but the white flag could be seen. The combatants parleyed; retaliating for Clinton's behavior at Charleston, Washington refused to allow the British the honors of war. On the 19th, to the tune of "The World Turned Upside Down," close to seven thousand British troops marched forth to the surrender field and laid down their arms. Cornwallis, sick or feigning sickness, remained behind. Washington refused the sword from the Earl's second in command, motioning toward *his* second. General Lincoln received the sword; sweet revenge, he must have thought, for his defeat at Charleston.

On October 17, General Clinton and Admiral Graves left New York to aid Cornwallis. On October 29, having ascertained their loss, they sailed back to New York.

So ended the British Empire in America almost where it began at Jamestown 174 years before. In England, Lord North received the news from Yorktown "as he would take a ball in the Breast." "Oh God!" he exclaimed. "It's all over." On March 20, 1782, the North ministry resigned following Parliament's demand for a cessation of "offensive war in America." King George prepared to abdicate the throne. He quickly reconsidered, however, reasoning "that knavery seems to be so much the striking feature of the Inhabitants of America that it may not in the end be an evil that they become Aliens to this Kingdom."

George III, in spite of the loss of America, would reign until his death in 1820, long enough to see the beginning of the Second British Empire. Among the leading actors at Yorktown, Lord Cornwallis would achieve greatness as Governor General of India and Viceroy to Ireland, where he initiated the portentous Act of Union with Great Britain. Lafayette participated in the French Revolution to become "the hero of two worlds." De Grasse, only months after Yorktown, met overwhelming defeat at the Battle of the Saints. Saint-Simon became a founder of modern socialism. The heroic John Laurens met a needless death in a minor skirmish against a band of Loyalists one year after the battle. And finally, Washington and Hamilton helped create and then presided over the crucial first years of the nation reared upon their victory at Yorktown. □

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THE KIRK TESTIMONIAL

Hail to the Chief

RICHARD BROOKHISER

IF YOU HAD been living in the asteroid belt for the last year, or on the upper Orinoco, and wished to dispel lingering doubts about who won the last election, all you had to do was present yourself in black tie at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., on October 1, along with the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the Assistant to the President for Policy Development, the Director of the CIA, the Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology, the freshman senator from North Carolina, the acting chief presidential speechwriter, and the man whom they and several hundred other conservatives had gathered to honor—Russell Kirk.

Twenty-nine years ago, a congregation of Washington's thrones, powers, and dominations, assembled for that purpose, would have seemed as improbable as a Jacobite restoration. It was in the summer of 1952 that Kirk, 33, a history instructor at Michigan State (a/k/a Behemoth U.), sent the manuscript of his second book to Henry Regnery. It was, he wrote, "my contribution to our endeavor to conserve the spiritual and intellectual and political tradition of our civilization; and if we are to rescue the modern mind, we must do it very soon." Regnery changed the title from *The Conservative Rout* to *The Conservative Mind*, and brought it out the following spring. Kirk and his ghost stories, Regnery told the crowd at the Mayflower, became an instant hit with Regnery's daughter, though his sons preferred the company of South African poet Roy Campbell, who told them stories about wild-bull hunting. An error on the boys' part—for, as Regnery said, "a liberal is more dangerous than any bull."

Over the next three decades, Kirk spun out horror stories, histories, political philosophy, columns, and speeches. He launched *Modern Age* and the *University Bookman*, and lent himself to just about every conservative intellectual operation going—the Philadelphia Society, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, and NATIONAL REVIEW. "From the Academy" first appeared in Volume 1, Number 1, and, for 25 years thereafter, it arrived at the office promptly, in clean copy, always the correct length. (See also "Notes and Asides.")

Richard Allen and Senator John East spoke for the powers that be, Allen joking that he had won the intra-Administration struggle to be the bearer of President Reagan's greetings. (Ken Cribb, master of ceremonies, also conveyed a tribute from Ed Meese.) Senator East reported that he was engaged in the happy task of reading—more likely, of re-reading—Kirk's collected works, in preparation for a book of essays on the founders of modern American conservatism. M. E. Bradford, professor of English at the University of Dallas and a power that may be, saluted Kirk, one traditionalist to another, for emphasizing that rights must grow out of a soil of social and moral tradition.

Other speakers at the Mayflower reflected Kirk's institutional commitments—William F. Buckley Jr., for *NR*, E. Victor Milione, President of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, Edwin J. Feulner Jr., President of the Heritage Foundation, and Gary R. Ricks, chief executive officer of the Marguerite Eyer Wilbur Foundation. Ricks made the boldest suggestion of the night—that Kirk be given access to the President who had greeted him. Kirk, it happens, had such an encounter before, and wrote about it in NATIONAL REVIEW'S 25th Anniversary issue:

> President Nixon . . . summoned me to Washington to talk with him a few days after the Cambodian campaign began. One question he asked me was this: "Dr. Kirk, what one book should I read? I'm always asking that question of Henry Kissinger or Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but they give me lists of a dozen books in a specialized field, and I don't have time to read a dozen books . . ."
>
> I did not hesitate: "T. S. Eliot, *Notes toward the Definition of Culture*."
>
> The President wished to know why I chose that book. "I could read about it in your book on Eliot, couldn't I?" He seemed faintly reproachful at my sibylline recommendation.
>
> But I replied that I was serious, and that it would be well to read the book itself, a very slim one, and that I would send him a copy. . . . I added that Eliot's little book touched upon many fundamental concerns of modern society.

"I do not know," Kirk concluded wistfully, "that an intimacy with great poetry would have saved Mr. Nixon from his ruin." But he gave it his best shot. A tip to the Oval Office if they decide to take up Ricks's suggestion.

PERHAPS they won't need the tip. For the presence of so many powerful men (powerful as the headlines reckon power) at a dinner for a scholar indicates that this Administration at least knows that ideas have consequences. Russell Kirk's ideas have had very important consequences indeed. *The Conservative Mind* appeared at a time when the very title seemed a paradox. The American right wing was an intellectual rag-tag, about as coherent as the Iranian parliament: robber barons and free-enterprisers; Communists turned Americans; America Firsters turned McCarthyites; Midwestern Republicans and Confederates; with Peter Viereck on the sidelines whispering all the while that the True Prince was Franklin D. Roosevelt. Even the poets whom Russell Kirk admired so much had no practical effect, hardly any practical interest; to the extent they mucked in politics at all, they seemed content to follow an antique drum. Half a dozen men, most of them associated at one time or another with this magazine, changed this around. Russell Kirk was the first of them.

Prosodic note: James J. Kilpatrick, resplendent in kilt, saluted Kirk in iambic pentameters, with an occasional anapest thrown in for variety. □

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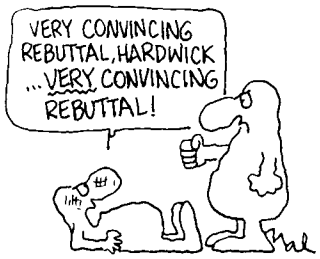
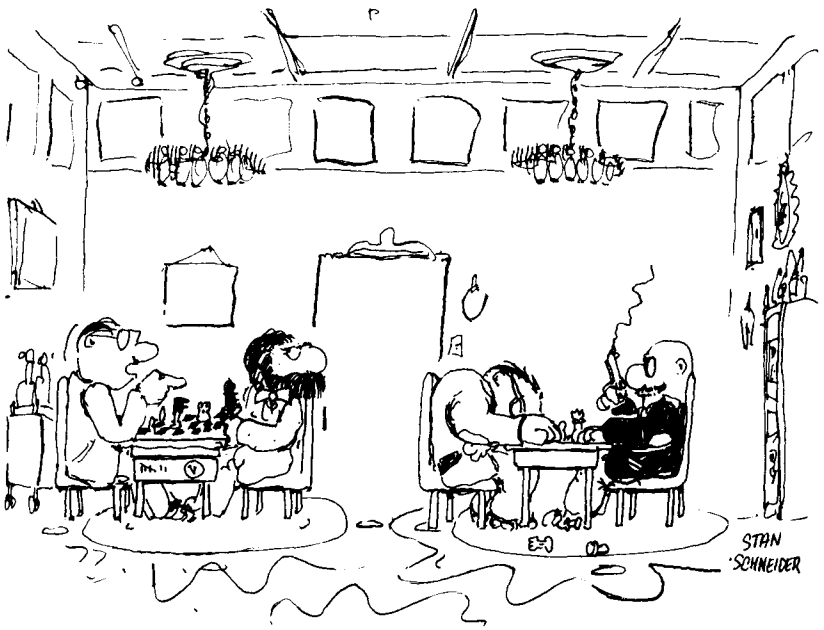


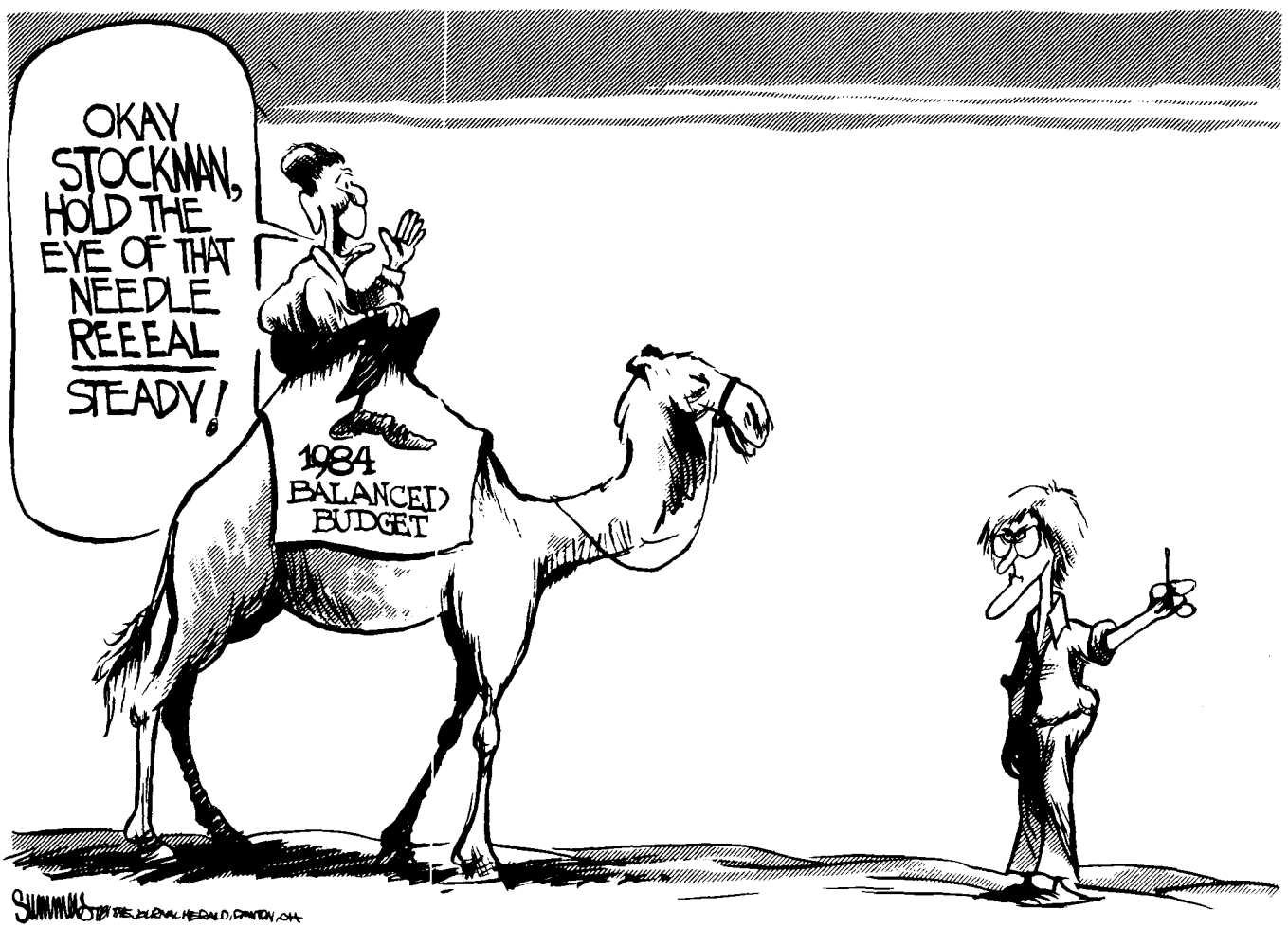
Senator Hatch by a Mile

Back in Utah, Robert Redford
  Has been talking to the folks.
Though the ladies love his profile
  And the men, sometimes, his jokes,
And although his movie image
  Makes the Mormon mamas pant,
When it comes to beating Orrin
  All the polls confirm he can't.

W. H. von Dreele



"By God, he's broken Sir Reginald's 'Sicilian Defense'!"



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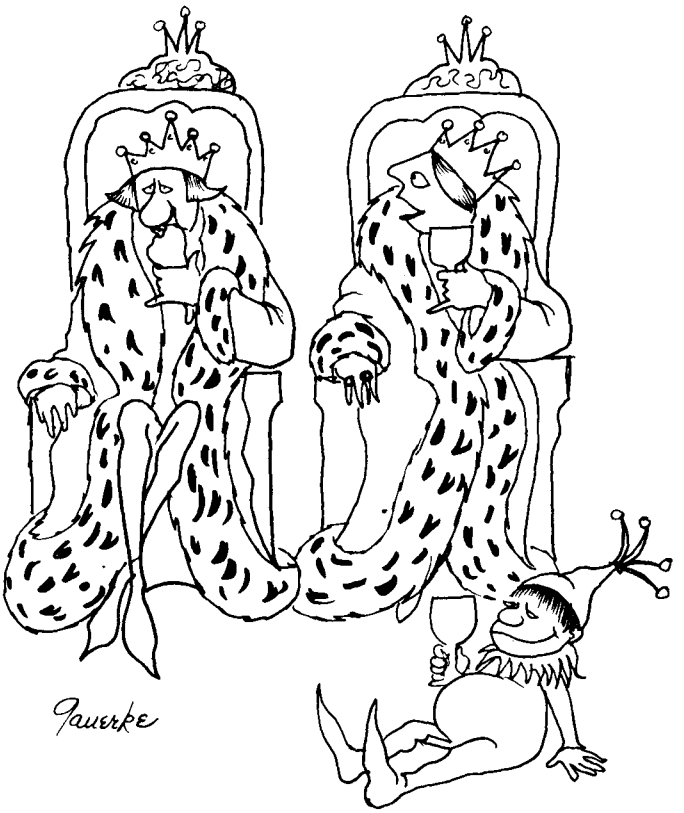

"Do you know what I feel guilty about? I feel guilty about not feeling guilty."

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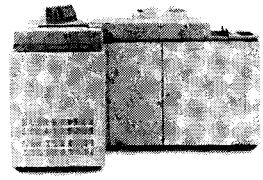

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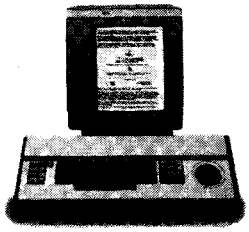

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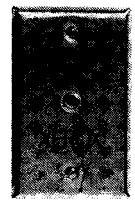

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LETTER FROM SALISBURY

The former prime minister of what was formerly Rhodesia examines the state being forged by his successor, Robert Mugabe. Whether or not Mugabe is a Communist, his country, says Ian Smith, is sliding into the Communist camp

Ian Smith and the Future of Zimbabwe

The following interview was conducted by John McLaughlin, a Washington-based NBC radio commentator, on August 26, 1981.

McLaughlin: Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has been in office since April 18, 1980, some 16 months. In late August, he called for a referendum for the people of this nation to vote on whether they would wish a one-party state. How do you think a one-party state would affect the Constitution and the Lancaster House agreement whereby thirty seats, ten in the Senate and twenty in the Assembly are allocated to non-blacks?

Smith: I think that it is fair to say that this talk of a one-party state is causing great concern amongst our white population because we associate a one-party state with dictatorship. The thought of a Marxist dictatorship is something which is anathema to people who have dedicated so much of their lives to fighting for freedom. I would go so far as to say that I believe you would not only have twenty whites opposing this, but twenty and maybe more black Members of Parliament who would oppose the imposition of a one-party state. I am impressed with the number of black people who approach me—the number is growing—to say that we are not the only ones who are opposed to the imposition of a one-party state, that we would be surprised at how many black people resist this.

M: In late August, Mr. Mugabe called upon the young children of Zimbabwe to join ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union], which is Mr. Mugabe's party, saying that as future leaders of the country they must have

Photos: Wide World

Ian Smith

"political education." Do you approve or disapprove of this?

S: Once again, I have to tell you that the white people would oppose strongly any such indoctrination. This clearly smacks of Marxism. There is no more anti-Marxist nation in the world than the former Rhodesia. So to expect the white people of this country to do a complete turnabout and go along with a system which can only be interpreted as indoctrination of school children is something that would be anathema to us; but regrettably these are the signs of one-party-state thinking.

M: In part Mr. Mugabe justifies the call for schoolchildren to join ZANU and become politically active on the basis that in the one party of ZANU multiple candidacies can be mounted. This, he believes, would guarantee the democratic process. Do you share that view?

S: Well, it is not the pattern in Africa. I don't say that Mr. Mugabe doesn't genuinely believe in this kind of thing. Maybe other leaders in Africa also originally and genuinely thought of that kind of freedom under the one-party state. But through the passage of time, these freedoms have been lost. No matter how good your intentions in the beginning, with the passage of time tolerance seems to go out the window. We had an excellent example in Zambia to the north of us, when Kapwepwe, who was one of [Kenneth] Kaunda's principal opponents, was forced to join the one-party state. He then decided that he would stand in opposition to Kaunda as president. Immediately there was a meeting of the party which declared that nobody could present himself as a candidate until he had been a member of the party for at least two years. So that disqualified Kapwepwe.

M: Recently the Prime Minister brought in a contingent of some one hundred North Koreans—members of the military—to train a crack Fifth Brigade. The Fifth Brigade's function is to serve "internally," according to the Prime Minister. Do you share the apprehension of Mr. Joshua Nkomo [Minister without Portfolio in Mugabe's government and head of ZAPU—Zimbabwe African People's Party] that the Fifth Brigade could be used to enforce a one-party state?

S: I must say that I do share that view. I don't know what else it would be used for. This, regrettably, is inherent in the system. There are precedents all over the world. If it turned out to be different here, then this would be a unique case; and in politics, one has to admit that you usually don't find that.

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M: What is the need that Mr. Mugabe sees for the internal use of the Fifth Brigade?

S: Under a one-party system, these things are used to keep the government in power, to suppress opposition. This is the pattern in the world wherever you find one-party states. It has been the pattern in Africa.

M: Let me direct your attention, Mr. Smith, to the non-alignment foreign policy posture of the Mugabe government. Do you agree that Zimbabwe is non-aligned? I ask this in view of the fact that the bilateral trade agreements this nation has entered into have been signed with nations whose regimes are Communist or socialist. Bulgaria, Mozambique, North Korea, Rumania, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia. Mr. Mugabe has also firmly aligned his government with the pro-Soviet Polisario movement, the PLO, SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) and the ANC (African National Congress). Is this nation then truly non-aligned?

S: I am deeply concerned at the trend in the country today. We seem to be slipping into the Communist camp. I am a little skeptical about these non-aligned countries. I think it is difficult if not impossible for any country to be unaligned. The world today is basically divided in two camps, the free world and the non-free world, the Western world and the Communist world. I think you have to be in one camp or the other if you are going to survive. The people in the middle—the Third World—are really of so little consequence that they don't count. They can't look after themselves, not only militarily, but even economically. We have always been in the free world camp in the past. It looks to me as though we are now sliding away from that into the camp of the non-free world.

M: Let me ask you a few questions about mass media in Zimbabwe. Recently the Mugabe government bought out 45 per cent of the newspaper ownership, which gave them control. Has this affected freedom of the press? Specifically do you find the newspapers are developing a propagandistic tone?

S: They completely support the government. This is a tendency, of course, in all one-party states. The communications media are very powerful, very influential. We are in the situation where we have only one national newspaper. It isn't as though there was any opposition. So if you control one, you control the lot. You are in the position, too, where you have only one broadcasting outlet. So if you control one, you control the lot. I think you would have to look hard before you could find any criticism of the government in any of the communications media here.

M: Regarding broadcasting, one notes when watching the evening news telecasts that the word "Comrade" is used by the anchorman when he mentions the ministers of the Mugabe cabinet, or the Prime Minister himself. He is described as, for example, "The Prime Minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, visited the trade show today." Or "Comrade Shamuyarira, Minister of Information, today announced that . . ." Also, I note that high-ranking officials of the Yugoslavian government and other collectivist or socialist states friendly to Zimbabwe are also described as "Comrade." Do you feel that such an appellation is anything more than a cosmetic, a hangover from the guerrilla days of Robert Mugabe? Or do you think that using that word during the evening news is a kind of subtle indoctrination?

S: I don't think that I can honestly reply to that because I don't know what is going on in their minds. But certainly the word "Comrade" is something which most people in the world associate with Communism. Again insistence on using this word not only in the media—they use it in Parliament, they use it everywhere—seems to be part of the trend I referred to earlier, the slide into the Communist camp.

Robert Mugabe

M: Can I ask you a few questions about the economy, and the fiscal policy of the Mugabe administration? The inflation rate, I am told, is about 15 per cent. Unemployment is quite high. Could you comment on the existing state of the economy?

S: This government was fortunate in inheriting a very sound economy. During the years of sanctions, economists from Britain and the United States told me that they believed it was probably the best managed economy in the world. We were forced into that position in order to survive. We survived in spite of the fact that we had the whole world against us, including sanctions. So this government was lucky. But the trend now is toward socialism. So, there's no doubt in my mind that the more socialism comes in, the greater will be the deterioration in the handling of the economy of this country, and I believe that there already are signs that this is taking place.

Suffering Socialists

M: Do you want to point to any African nations that have tried socialism or collectivism which are now suffering severely?

S: All of them. When we were at Lancaster House we were told that we should insist on twenty white seats in the Parliament's lower house to help retain the confidence of the white people, to keep them here, because the whites were the people with the skills and the professional know-how. Every country in black Africa, they said to us, today is bankrupt, including Nigeria, and all of these countries inherited viable economies. But they are now bankrupt. The worst cases are in the countries which have espoused socialism.

M: Is anything happening in the agricultural sector that indicates a socialist drift?

S: Not as far as the white commercial sector is concerned. Fortunately we have been left alone. As for the development of the new lands or the settlement of blacks, the trend there is definitely collectivist and socialist.

M: Those lands were formerly owned by whites—correct?

S: Yes.

M: They have been bought from the

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whites by the Zimbabwe government through monies provided by Great Britain. But when those monies are exhausted, Mr. Mugabe says he will find other means to acquire the land for communal living. What does this mean? Is it a veiled threat of some kind?

S: We hope not. So far, one has to say in all fairness, Mr. Mugabe and the government have stated that they will not steal land. They want more land and they are looking to the free world to provide the money to acquire it. Again, in all fairness, we have to concede that there has been much land owned by white companies and white speculators, nonresident in this country, which was not being correctly used. So *that* land, we believe, should be brought into production, and we believe it is the correct policy of the government to take over that land—to buy it, of course—and to resettle Africans there. The criticism—if there is to be criticism—is that there is not sufficient planning for the settlement of that land. It is a rushed operation.

The Guerrilla Liability

M: Broadly speaking, are you optimistic about the future of the economy of this country?

S: I share the view that inflation is getting out of hand. I predicted that it would be 20 per cent by the end of this year. This has been brought about by mismanagement of the economy by the government. There are numerous causes at work that one can point to. For example, the fact that they have taken so long to demobilize the guerrillas who came back. They were talking about having a standing army of seventy or eighty thousand. These people are being paid far more than they have been paid in their lives, sitting around waiting for demobilization now. This is capital which is not being used productively. It is being held dormant. These people should have been put into productive work.

M: The leakage of whites from Zimbabwe, I am told, is about 1,800 monthly. What is your thinking on regulations imposed by the Mugabe administration on Zimbabweans who wish to leave this country?

S: Unfortunately—tragically—it is a fact that too many white people are leaving: about two thousand a month. These are people who have the skills necessary to keep the country running and to prevent it from degenerating into bankruptcy and chaos. Most of them are leaving because of unfair treatment, because of supercession in the form of nepotism and jobs for pals. Now the government has declared that people won't be able to take even their personal posessions with them when they go. This is most unfortunate. It will have an adverse effect. It won't help keep people here; it will do the reverse. It will make more people go, because it is unfair. The government is short of money, and one can understand putting limits on the amount of money which you take away [about $1,400 U.S.] in foreign exchange. That's just simple economics. But to deny people the right to take out their own possessions can in no way affect the foreign exchange of the country. It seems to be merely penal.

M: Do you think that the $1,400 limit is equitable?

S: No. Unfortunately it is inadequate. But I understand the situation where the government says it's no use telling the people to take out more in foreign exchange if we haven't got the foreign exchange. This is the hard reality of life.

M: The United States has given $50 million to the Mugabe government, and pledged $75 million a year over the next three years, totaling $225 million. With the $50 million already granted, this amounts to well over one quarter of a billion dollars. Do you think that such an outlay is in the U.S. interest? Is there any quid pro quo?

S: I think that the countries of the free world do have some obligation toward trying to rehabilitate the economy here and insure that this new government gets a good start. But I believe that it is with the proviso that this government remains in the camp of the free world as opposed to the non-free world. I think that is logical, that it makes common sense. I like the theme of the Reagan government—I think I am correct when I say it—that they are sick and tired of seeing good money going down the drain, giving money to countries that have used it for their convenience and then run off and joined the enemy camp. I think we've got to make up our minds here as to which camp we belong to in this world—the free world camp, or the non-free world camp. I go along with Mr. Reagan on this.

M: There are those who say that Robert Mugabe's Marxism, or Leninism, or Communism, or collectivism, or socialism—call it what you will—is largely a matter of pragmatics, cosmetics, and rhetoric, lacking a true doctrinal substance and intent. There are others who say that this is wishful thinking rather than realistic analysis. What is your considered opinion after 16 months of watching Robert Mugabe and his government?

S: I have to say that I am more worried now than I was this time a year ago, when we were led to believe that this country would remain part of the free world, part of the Western camp, and that there would be no drift toward Communism. It is very difficult to be precise at the moment. I believe that there are certain ministers in Mr. Mugabe's government who are dedicated Marxists. As far as Mr. Mugabe himself is concerned, he has not given that impression. He gives the impression of trying to steer a middle course. But one wonders whether he is going to succeed. First, one wonders whether he is sufficiently dedicated to this middle course, whether his heart lies there. Second, if it does, whether he will be able to control those around him. At this particular stage, we're not sure.

Will Smith Leave?

M: Mr. Smith, you have a long history in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. You were prime minister from 1964 to 1979. In 1965 your government unilaterally declared the independence of Rhodesia from the United Kingdom. Will you leave this nation that you love so dearly?

S: I certainly have no intention of leaving. After all, I was born here. There are five generations of my family with history in this country. So I see no reason why I should leave. I am not going to let myself be intimidated out, of that you may be sure. But like the majority of whites I have to concede that in the final analysis, if conditions deteriorated to such an extent that it was just not worth living here, then I might change my mind. But certainly I am not going to run away from any problems. □

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In 1976, Carter won the endorsement of the National Education Association by promising to create an Education Department. Carter fulfilled his promise. Now will Reagan fulfill the promise he made in 1980, to abolish the department?

Down with the Department of Education

JOSEPH GERARD

EDUCATION SECRETARY Terrel H. Bell, explaining that his department had "too many chiefs," acted in March of 1981 to eliminate four of the 13 assistant secretary positions and 35 of the 47 deputy assistant positions in a department not quite one year old. This heavy superstructure had given the Education Department more assistant secretaries than any other department except Defense and State and the highest number of deputy assistant secretaries in the Federal Government. Secretary Bell had already recalled proposed rules on bilingual education, an action which will probably save local school boards millions of dollars and also protect them from bureaucratic harassment.

The Education Department, set up in May of 1980, was primed for an explosion of staff, regulations, and power. The actions of Secretary Bell halted this process. Nevertheless, more needs to be done. The Republican Platform of 1980, it will be recalled, promised the abolition of the Department of Education.

Carter's upgrading of Commissioner of Education to a Cabinet-level post was an upgrading not of education itself but of the *federal* role in education. The case for the abolition of the Department of Education must focus on: 1) the changing emphasis in the field of education, notably over the past 15 years, as a direct result of expanded federal aid; 2) the goals and objectives of the primary mover in the creation of the new department, the National Education Association; and 3) the direct and immediate threat of growing centralization of the education function at the expense of state and local control and—not least—parental influence. Historically, federal aid to education was limited and targeted: the Morrill Act, promoting agricultural and mechanical education at the post-secondary level; the Smith-Hughes Act, subsidizing vocational and home-economics education in secondary schools; the GI Bill for veterans' tuition; and aid to areas where the presence of federal installations imposed an undue burden on local school districts.

Crash Program

The launching of Sputnik in 1957 led to concern that American students were falling behind their Russian counterparts in such crucial fields as science and math. Out of this concern came a crash program, initiated and paid for out of federal funds, to rectify the perceived education gap. The enactment of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 soon followed. It provided federal funds for loans and fellowships to students in higher education and was geared heavily toward the fields of math and science.

A great leap forward for federal involvement in education came during Lyndon Johnson's Great Society when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 extended federal aid to a variety of activities, including new experimental programs, in private as well as public schools. (See "How to Railroad a School Bill," by Roger A. Freeman, *NR*, May 18, 1965.)

This Act brought a federal education bureaucracy into every school district in the nation. During the late 1960s and the 1970s, a shift in emphasis took place. The Federal Government, which had started out simply promoting quality education at the local level, was now setting the education agenda. Insufficiently tested practices would be used to remold attitudes and values, while curricula would be devised which were deemed more "relevant" to the needs of a modern industrial society in the twentieth century. Teaching of reading and writing, etc. would be de-emphasized in favor of integrating classrooms via forced busing and redistributing funds through federal overseers.

This shift, encouraged by a legion of federal bureaucrats with federal dollars to hand out, downplayed academic achievement and upgraded the goal of educating the "whole child." The move now was toward centralized control over programs and curriculum, federal intervention in local school policies, and the redirection of programs not toward academic goals but toward the egalitarianism demanded by politically potent pressure groups.

Federal goals and targeted population groups provided a rationale for expanded federal programs. Reasons were developed for helping a specified group—the poor, ethnic minorities, children with English deficiencies. State and local officials had little choice but to conform unless they wished to risk a cut-off of federal aid.

The federal arsenal of education pro-

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grams included: aid for disadvantaged, poverty-level children (e.g., compensatory education under Title I of ESEA—the Elementary and Secondary Education Act); assistance for disadvantaged pre-schoolers (Head Start) and students having difficulties with the English language (Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975); nutrition programs for poverty-level students (school breakfast and school lunch programs); elimination of sexual distinctions in school programs (Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972); and assistance to schools undergoing desegregation (the Emergency School Aid Act).

'Success' Story

Federal education officials seem to regard as irrelevant whether these programs really accomplished their stated objectives and goals. We know from numerous studies and personal experiences that they failed. For example, when problems arose in Head Start, the Head Start program administrators redefined the program's goals from "cognitive learning" to something called "social competence" (that is, the effectiveness of a child in school and everyday life). They then pronounced Head Start a success.

These programs became "symbols" of the nation's commitment to economically or socially distressed groups and were not challenged or questioned by "*enlightened opinion.*" The answer to all failures was simple: provide more funding next time.

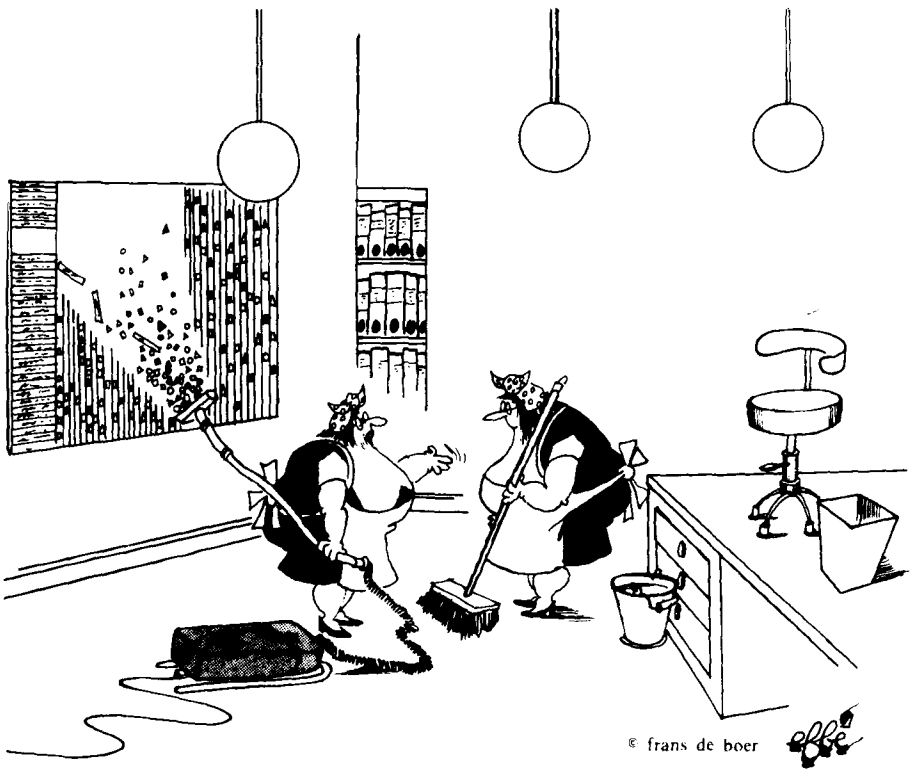
A Hudson Institute study by Frank Armbruster, *Our Children's Crippled Future: How American Education Has Failed*, published in 1977, revealed that during the years federal aid to schools had been increasing, the scores of students on standardized achievement tests had steadily declined. This documented, perceptive study exposed the myth that more federal aid automatically results in improved education.

The tendency to promote and expand programs, despite the failure to reach set goals, has been encouraged by a growing education bureaucracy in the Federal Government whose jobs depend upon continuation of these programs. Given a Cabinet-level Education Department, the Secretary of Education must play a policy-making role and, at the Cabinet level, becomes the advocate, spokesman, and chief lobbyist for an expanded department, in direct competition with other Cabinet secretaries. The inclusion of Education within another department or its transformation into an independent agency reporting to the President (on the lines of ACTION or the National Aeronautics and Space Administration) would help reduce this advocacy role and would assist the proponents of decentralization in education.

The movement toward a larger role in education for a Cabinet-level department was highlighted during the inauguration ceremonies for the new department. In Washington, the liberal Brookings Institution conducted a seminar which sought to explore the great resources available in such a department, and what is theory today in a think-tank operation can become public policy tomorrow. Harold Howe II, a former Commissioner of Education, and now vice president of the Ford Foundation, discussed the need for federal aid to reduce the spending inequalities of rich and poor states and pressed for efforts to reduce discrimination. Other speakers urged that the Federal Government expand the education initiatives of the 1960s and 1970s.

We need to understand why the National Education Association pressed so hard to establish a Cabinet-level Education Department. Over the years the NEA, representing almost two million teachers, has evolved from a professional association into a militant union dominated by ideologues of the Left. In holding out the promise (for the first time in its history) of an official endorsement in a presidential race, the NEA in 1976 asked two things from candidates: 1) support for a separate Education Department, and 2) greatly increased federal funding for education. Candidate Jimmy Carter complied and received the endorsement and active support of the NEA leaders. Carter won a narrow victory over President Gerald Ford, for which the NEA took full credit.

NEA members provide a ready-made political task force in every congressional district in the nation. While not every teacher follows the NEA line in politics, the number who do can be politically powerful wherever electoral victories can be won by a small number of dedicated workers. (Although sympathetic to collective bargaining and to some of the same educational goals as the NEA, the AFL-affiliated American Federation of Teachers helped lead the fight against the Cabinet department, fearing it would be dominated by the NEA.)



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Carter delivered on his promise to push for a Department of Education and the bill breezed through the Senate (72 to 21), winning support from conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats. The more difficult fight in the House of Representatives was intense and the resulting vote much closer. While Republicans generally opposed the bill, conservatives who had committed themselves earlier to the NEA position or thought the new department would bring more efficiency at the federal level provided the narrow margin of victory. (Some Democrats, even some liberals, opposed the bill for a variety of reasons.) President Carter enthusiastically signed the bill and appointed as the first Secretary of Education Shirley Hufstedler, a California judge who strongly supported federal intervention in education. The new Department of Education went into operation officially in May 1980, and it was staffed with sympathizers of the NEA. So committed had the NEA been to passage of this bill that NEA political action funds in 1980 were given even to conservatives who had voted for it, despite their having generally opposed NEA goals, while such aid was denied to certain long-time supporters of NEA positions simply because they had opposed it. The NEA showed that it too could play single-issue politics.

Money, Money, Money

Although federal funding for education has not been increased to the 33 per cent of total funding desired by the NEA, the federal contribution has climbed steadily. From 1978 through 1981, the Carter Administration presided over a 39 per cent increase in the federal education budget; the first year of operation of this new department gave federal education officials almost $1 billion more to spend than the budget for corresponding programs under the old Office of Education, or a 7 per cent increase for fiscal year 1980 alone. (The Education Department budget for fiscal year 1980 totaled about $15.5 billion and the Carter Administration's fiscal year 1982 submission raised this amount to an estimated $17.1 billion.) These increases took place while school enrollments, as well as test scores, were steadily declining.

The NEA has strongly opposed tuition tax credits, vouchers, and the growth of private schools; it has actively supported increased federal expenditures for education, a diminution of state and local control over education, and collective bargaining as well as enforced unionization for all teachers. Mr. Herman Coleman, then Assistant to the Executive Secretary of the Education Department, said in August 1980 that a legislative rider should be attached to every Department of Education program stating that for a state or school district to qualify for federal money, its teachers must have access to collective bargaining. This would have enormously strengthened the power of the NEA.

Previous extensions of federal control into education have had some alarming consequences. A federal judge gave a University of Georgia professor a jail sentence for violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act because he refused to say how he voted in a tenure decision. The University of California at Berkeley was threatened with the loss of federal contracts for refusing to allow access to confidential faculty records in an affirmative action dispute with the Department of Labor. The government has tried to enforce federal affirmative action guidelines on such private institutions as Grove City College in Pennsylvania, Brigham Young University in Utah, and Hillsdale College in Michigan on the tenuous claim that although these institutions have received no direct federal aid, some of their students have received federal aid in the form of student loans. Under a revised government regulation (Circular A-21), the Federal Government ordered professors to account for all their work-time when some or all of it is supported by federal monies. (Stanford University estimates it will cost $250,000 to set up an accounting system to meet the terms of A-21.)

Options for Reagan

What options are available to the President in trying to fulfill his campaign promise to abolish the Department of Education? He could reconstitute the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; he could move Education into the new Department of Health and Human Services, creating an administrative Assistant Secretary for Education; or he could establish it as an independent operation reporting directly to the President. At the federal level—ideally, at least—the education function should by law be structured as that of a banker who works out mathematical formulas for allocating federal money, not that of a centralized agency which sets national goals and policies. In any case, the elimination of the Cabinet status of the Department of Education will help reduce the *federal* role in education and will make evaluation of education programs and control of the growth of these programs much easier in future years.

Jimmy Carter promised much in 1976 and produced little by 1980; Ronald Reagan is now under the critical eye of an electorate cynical about the promises of politicians. Voters are watching for both symbolic and substantial evidence that the mandate for change given in the 1980 election will be carried forth. □

Cut Rate? Rebate? Checkmate!

"Now 10 per cent off,"
They enticingly state,
And *we* rise like fish
To the slippery bait.
But I recommend
We give *this* question weight:
Does *anyone* pay
At the "regular" rate?

CORINNA MARSH

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LETTER FROM ISRAEL

'It's Not Important'

MONA CHAREN

THE DETAILS of Israel's raid on the Iraqi nuclear plant came sputtering over the transistor radio in the late afternoon. My Israeli friends and I had stationed ourselves outside of the Damascus Gate of the Old City of Jerusalem—the heart of the Arab section of the city. Damascus Gate is a favorite tourist spot, because beneath these four-hundred-year-old stones parades the whole panoply of Middle Eastern cultures: Bedouin peasant women, Ethiopian Coptic priests, pale Hassidic Jewish families, Armenian priests, Suni Moslems, Shi'ite Moslems, and, as everywhere in Israel and the occupied territories, green-suited Israeli soldiers, their submachine guns slung nonchalantly over one shoulder. My Israeli friends had chosen this spot quite purposely to hear the news. Before 1967, this was Jordan, and they wanted to gaze upon one victory while relishing yet another.

Listening to the news is something of an Israeli fetish even in calmer times. It is commonplace for shopkeepers, secretaries, housewives, military officers, everyone, to pause in their activities every hour on the hour and turn to their ubiquitous radios. Drivers on buses, whether in the wilderness of the Negev desert or in the heart of Tel Aviv, raise the volume of their radios for the benefit (requested or not) of their passengers. *"Lo shomata hadashote?"* ("You haven't heard the news?") is as much a reproach as a question.

A Secret Pleasure

To be sure, this news addiction is in part the consequence of Israel's blood-soaked history; every passing hour could bring news of a terrorist attack or military skirmish, and the names of the casualties are almost as likely to be a nephew, a neighbor, or a daughter as not. But beyond the tug of anxiety, there is the secret pleasure which Israelis take in being the center of the world's attention. "Every news service in the world is carrying the story of the raid on Iraq!" exclaimed one of my companions, his eyes shining.

But while their attention to news—local and international—is obsessive, Israelis harbor an ever-hardening contempt for "world opinion." During the recent Knesset campaign, the most bitter and brutal in the State of Israel's history, Menachem Begin, before a cheering crowd, derided his opponent, Shimon Peres, for the latter's reservations about the attack on Iraq. "What will the world say?" jeered Begin. "What did the world say when one million Jewish babies were slaughtered by the Nazis? The world laughed. The world laughs at the timid Jew. The world respects the fighting Jew."

Begin characteristically overdoes. Nevertheless, in invoking the Nazis he is well within a tradition. The Holocaust has shaped the consciousness and world view of the entire nation—its impact cannot be overestimated. Fully 100,000 Israelis alive today still carry the hideous numbers tattooed on their forearms—and every Israeli carries that tattoo on his soul. Certainly this alone would be sufficient to guarantee the lack of moral authority of world opinion in Israeli eyes for generations to come. Then add to this the plethora of biased and cynical UN resolutions passed since 1967.

A conservative is bound to have conflicting feelings about Israel. Economically, the country is a mess. The original Zionist pioneers, while unsuccessful in establishing the pure socialist state they had fondly envisioned (except on the kibbutzim), did manage to impose a choking bureaucracy which has bred here what socialism breeds everywhere: sloth, waste, and festering frustration. There is much talk among young Israelis of going to Australia or to America to seek their fortune—this August more people emigrated from Israel than immigrated to it.

The inefficiencies are ironic at two levels. Here, in the land where barren desert was transformed into thriving farmland almost overnight despite shortages of water, manpower, and equipment—*here*, it still takes from three to eight years to have a telephone installed in a new apartment. And it is comic to consider that Jews, elsewhere among the world's most gifted entrepreneurs, are in their own country debt-ridden and (in many cases) desperate. It may be that this is beginning to change. With the re-election of Begin it appears that the long hegemony of the Labor Party (the architects of the economic Tower of Babel) is truly at an end. Economic reform doesn't top Begin's agenda, but he has been seen keeping company with Milton Friedman. It's not much to soothe the sensibilities of a conservative, but it's a hope, and hope ("Hatikva") is Israel's national anthem.

A Child's Paradise

Economics aside though, there is much for a conservative to rejoice in in Israel. Socially, the country is twenty years behind America, which is another way of saying that none of the "liberation" movements have had a chance to do their corrosive work on the social fabric. Everybody is still enslaved: men to the cruel stereotype requiring strength, leadership, self-sacrifice, and heterosexuality; and women to the rigid sex roles placing marriage and motherhood first, everything else second. And it's marvelous! Psychiatrists must go hungry in Israel; the smart money is in dentistry. Life revolves around the family, and specifically around children, who have the adults so completely bewitched that they are showered with candies wherever they go. Bus drivers, rabbis, cops, even (swear to God) beggars seem to carry a regular stash of chocolates for the *yeladim*. (Just in passing: in Israel abortion is illegal.)

There must be 15 different expressions in modern Hebrew all meaning roughly, "It's not important," and Israelis do not hesitate to iterate them if one is caught complaining of minor ills. It seems rude and insulting at first, but in time one concludes that these people, so hardened to the world, so resolute with their enemies, so devoted to their country, and so easily melted by their children, *know* what's important. □

Miss Charen, a former assistant editor at NR, *is studying law at Georgetown University.*

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HO$TAGES! HO$TAGES!

S. L. VARNADO

TEREZ, PALOOKISTAN—A new and radical experiment in the field of international finance is in progress in this tiny Near Eastern nation—an experiment so original in concept, yet so simple in execution, that it has sent shock waves through central banking nations of the world.

As *NR*'s newly appointed Roving Reporter (the editor's commission to me was, "Now get out of here and rove"), I flew recently to Terez, ancient capital of the newly formed government, where I talked with Sheik Abdul Khoka Khola, Minister of Finance, Date Palms, Camels, etc. In his luxurious suite atop the 52-story Terez-Sheraton minaret, the sheik (who dresses Western-style, sports an Oxford accent, and holds a PhD in economics from the Des Moines School of Business and Typing) filled me in on the new plan.

"It is simplicity itself," he assured me as we sipped Yak Milk cocktails and listened to his collection of old Guy Lombardo records. "The plan was conceived during the recent Iranian hostage crisis. At the time, our cabinet was debating whether or not to place our newly founded economy on the gold standard, but since we had no gold in our treasury we decided against it. Then somebody suggested hostages."

"Hostages?" I queried.

"Yes. Hostages as backing for our currency. Is it so strange, really? When you come to consider the matter, hostages have all the marks of a sound monetary standard. Hostages are intrinsically valuable, retain their value over long periods of time, do not tarnish, are ductile and beautiful. Historically, mankind has always prized hostages."

"But . . . but how do you get the hostages?" I probed.

"Well, that is something of a problem. We had hoped originally to mine them, but that proved difficult, so we have been forced to capture them. At present, our treasury contains 25 hostages, ranging in weight from about 175 to 200 pounds."

"And you issue currency against these hostages?"

"Just so. Against these 25 hostages we have issued several billion units of our own currency—the globule. The globule is used for domestic transactions and is also traded on the international market like other currencies."

"How do you arrive at the value of a hostage?"

"We permit the market to set its own value. There are two 'fixings' a day in Zurich. The price is measured in troy ounces, like bullion. At present a troy ounce of hostage is bringing about $1,200." He smiled sardonically. "How do you like our little scheme?"

"It's interesting. Perhaps a bit . . . barbaric."

"Barbaric? Ha! The exact word that Lord Keynes used for the gold standard. Actually, we consider our plan to be quite humane. We keep our hostages stored in a large vault under the city. We feed them well, dust them off daily, and weigh them periodically. It's not a bad life. The only thing we ask is that they try to conduct themselves as much like bullion as possible."

"One last question," I said. "How have other nations responded to your plan?"

"Oh, surprisingly well—especially the countries from which the hostages were taken. Our hope, in fact, is that some day all nations of the world will join us in an international hostage standard. And considering all the hijackings that are going on, it would appear that such a course of events is likely. By the way," he said, refilling my glass and gazing rather intently at my stomach, "let me invite you to remain in our country a while and inspect our system more thoroughly. We are having a feast tonight—prime rib of dromedary, barbecued yak, camel cacciatore . . ."

"Nice," I said, grabbing my hat and running for the door, "but I must decline. Got an appointment with Weight Watchers this evening. Meanwhile, Kismet and that sort of thing."

"Have a good day," he said. □

Mr. Varnado is a professor of English at the University of South Alabama.

To Our Good Health!

Nutrition experts tell us what
To eat as well as what to not
To shrink our weight, improve our health,
Well-being, sex, and (who knows?) wealth.
They no-no sugar, too much salt;
But for industrial grants they'd halt
The sale of cigarettes and all
Who favor too much alcohol.

I'm glad to heed if expertise
Is saving us from dread disease
By what the new nutrition sages
Discover in their tubes and cages,
But I'm suspicious of all that:
I'm not a laboratory rat.

CORINNA MARSH

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Abroad

Belize *Newborn in Danger*

This new Caribbean state, born out of the old British Honduras, is only a few days old, but already it is threatened by a left-wing guerrilla movement puffed on by Fidel Castro and animated by insurgents from Guatemala. Reports from the frontier between the two countries say that British troops have already been engaged in skirmishes with the guerrillas at a number of points. There are almost two thousand British troops mandated to stay in the country indefinitely, meaning until the embryonic Belize armed forces, now totaling seven hundred, become strong enough to resist both the pressure of the Guatemalan government, which has territorial claims against Belize, and infiltration by guerrillas. Belize forms the southern support of the Yucatan Peninsula, but it has only 145,000 inhabitants in its coastal lowlands, where the principal export crop is sugar. Its prime minister, George Price, is faced with the need for rapid development to satisfy expectations at home. Abroad, he has decided not to open diplomatic relations with Cuba, which, according to observers here, is an incitement rather than not to the Cuban dictator to attempt to establish his influence in what is an important strategic territory in the Caribbean. The Guatemalan insurgents are a first step in this enterprise.

Hong Kong *Silver for Silver Screens*

Buried hoards of Chinese coins are being returned to circulation in the international silver market. Over $200 million worth of such currency has been sold in the last 18 months, dealers estimate. There is as much as $15 billion worth of silver stocks in China, most of it secreted privately in the form of coins—the Communist government forbade private ownership of gold and silver in 1949. China was the last country to go off the silver standard, and up until the middle 1930s it regularly imported silver from the West for the minting of its currency. The present unearthing of treasure is attributed partly to a jump in silver prices on the world market. But it is also due to a yearning among the Chinese for possession of foreign electronic devices which are smuggled through this port, often on the same fishing boats that bring out the silver.

Narbonne *Vine Roots*

Too much wine has been the curse of the French *Midi* for most of this century, and has provided a classic problem in agricultural—and police—control for successive French governments. Now it has acquired international dimensions, highlighted by the recent attack by militant vintners on a Greek freighter in nearby Sète harbor, resulting in the destruction of $200,000 worth of cheap Sicilian wine when the boarding party poured marine oil into the ship's holds. Languedoc wine growers have habitually over-produced, and in times past price-controlled Algerian wine was used to "cut" their product into something more palatable for the French wine consumer. Now, European Economic Community regulations have created a situation in which the *Midi* wine producers find themselves unable to compete with Italian growers. Article 30 of the Treaty of Rome prohibits quantitative restrictions on imports among member countries, and, besides, farmers in other regions of France have an important Italian market for their meat, cereals, and dairy products. An added difficulty for President Mitterrand's socialist government lies in the fact that Languedoc is a region of strong left-wing traditions. The police have been reluctant to use strong-arm tactics on the wine growers ever since a bloody clash here five years ago, and roadblocks and other forms of protest go unimpeded by the authorities. Furthermore, an "Occitan" action committee headed by radical Jean Huillet has raised the specter of Languedoc separatism, a cause dating back to Provençal political and cultural independence at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Huillet, who says he is neither a Communist nor a socialist but claims his loyalty is regional, wears an Occitan cross around his neck.

Moscow *Seesaw*

The drop in international oil prices, coupled with disastrous harvests, caused the Soviet trade deficit with the West to jump over 100 per cent in the first six months of this year—up to 2.61 billion rubles ($3.66 billion at the official rate), according to figures published here. Exports of Russian oil fell by something like 20 per cent, and oil is the country's biggest hard-currency earner. On the other hand, Moscow has registered a big surplus in its trade with Poland—805 million rubles in the first half of 1981 compared to 145 million for the equivalent period last year.

Hastings *Classic Snatch*

A treasured possession of St. George's parish in the East Sussex town of Brede was the cradle of Jonathan Swift, the great eighteenth century divine and satirist. Now it has been stolen from its corner in the early medieval church, along with other treasures. The cradle was brought to Sussex by Swift's old nurse and had remained there ever since. It was for many years a tourist attraction, the visitor being invited to gaze on the cradle and remind himself that the great "Thunderer" was once no more than a helpless babe.

Garland, *Sunday Telegraph* Rothco

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Books Arts & Manners

Judicial Brutality

How Courts Govern America
By Richard Neely
Yale, 233 pp., $15

JOSEPH SOBRAN

I remember hearing an old cop *defend* police brutality—on grounds that a good beating, judiciously administered, could spare a young man, at a sensitive and formative moment in his life, the protracted humiliation of a public ritual of justice. The rod, as Dr. Johnson said, produces an effect that terminates in itself.

No doubt there are occasions when police brutality is administered in something other than a fatherly spirit, often enough to warrant safeguards against it, but you see the point I'm making: what is abstractly indefensible may concretely be superior to the approved method of doing things.

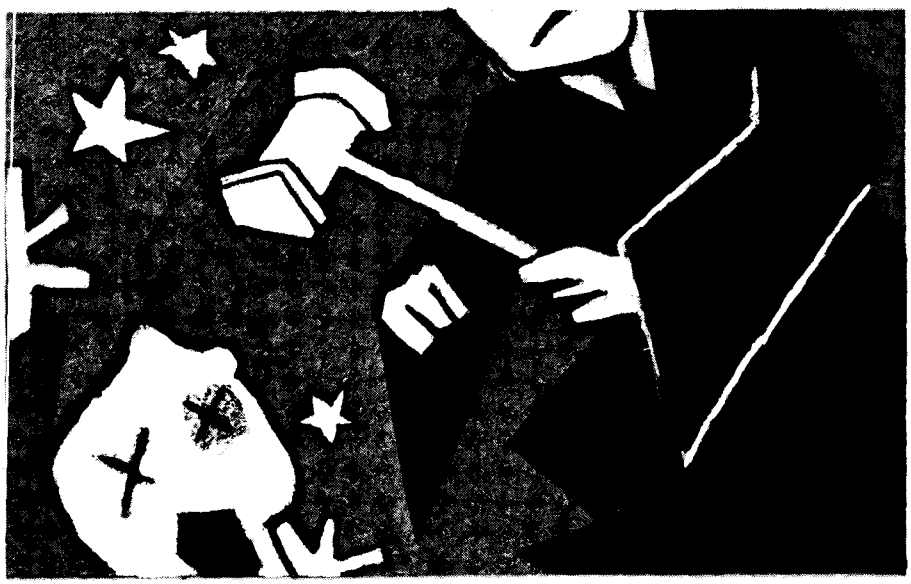
How Courts Govern America is a witty defense of judicial activism by a young justice of the West Virginia Supreme Court. It is generally devoid of cant; refreshingly blunt, in fact. He argues boldly that, in a very nuts-and-bolts sense, judicial activism often *works*. And he tries to formulate the ways it does work, while maintaining a due sense of its limits. He is the liberal's George Washington Plunkett.

Odd? Absolutely. He is a scion of Southern politics who has been to Yale and back. It was at Yale that he learned to distinguish between the "myth system" of a society and its "operational system." This is only a fancy way of saying what every good politician, and *a fortiori* every Southern politician, already knows: that the way things work is not exactly the way idealistic rhetoric says they do.

Democracy, Neely says rightly, works, for all its distinctive virtues, only when majority rule is ballasted by institutional safeguards. Chief among them the judiciary. Not exactly an intellectual bulletin, eh? But what makes *How Courts Govern America* interesting, at times fascinating, is that Neely, an ex-legislator, describes in detail how the operational system operates, recounting behind-the-scenes tensions and processes. The law-and-order conservative will have to concede, after reading Neely's earthy analysis of how small-town police have conducted business, that there was urgent, not merely ideological, reason for some of the Supreme Court's rulings in favor of defendants during the Warren era.

Not that liberals will be altogether happy with Neely's approach. He says that democracy has failed in many of the new pseudo-nations because colonial powers like Britain bequeathed only majority rule without the countervailing institutions that prevent democracy from degenerating into the brutal machine politics that makes majority rule itself meaningless.

His skepticism extends to activist judges themselves, but it never becomes cynicism. He really believes in institutions. He believes that they have their own logic. The logic of democratic legislatures makes them responsive to popular pressure; well and good. The logic of an independent judiciary makes it immune to that pressure; also well and



Arnold Beichman *is the author of* Nine Lies about America, *a prolific social, cultural, and political critic, and a frequent contributor to* NR. . . . **Jane Hall** *is a journalist who regularly covers the TV beat.* . . . **Alan L. Miller** *is an editorial writer for the* Detroit News. . . . **Ralph A. Rossum** *is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Loyola University of Chicago.* . . . **Ralph de Toledano** *is a novelist, essayist, columnist, poet, and critic.*

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good. And the judges have an eminently practical role to play because it is in the courtroom that the legislator's laws are actually applied.

The courts are under a peculiar inhibition, he believes, because it falls to them to justify correcting the operational system wholly under the guise of aligning it with the myth system. *Baker* v. *Carr*—the famous ruling requiring the reapportionment of state legislatures—is a case in point: the cities were increasingly disfranchised, or underfranchised, by rural districts. The Supreme Court repaired the system with a stroke which only it could have struck. It was forced to pretend it was merely obeying the Fourteenth Amendment.

Well, at least that's candid; like the aforementioned old cop. Naturally Earl Warren wouldn't welcome Neely's vindication of him, and he might wince at Neely's praise of him as one who was a good judge because he was a veteran politician—i.e., a good operator who knew how to use the myths for his own ends.

Neely defends Warren's kind of activism on the principle of what he calls (in another phrase he learned at Yale) "structural due process"—a method whereby the judiciary tosses a bomb into the legislative process, altering the agenda and forcing lawmakers to face new priorities. In this way, the Court, itself immune from political pressure, can *impose* a form of pressure, without, Neely hopes, usurping the legislature's prerogative of finding the politically acceptable response.

A breathtaking theory. It does cover a lot of facts. But a lot of questions can be raised. Can the myth system that legitimizes the judiciary survive the publication of Neely's well-meaning rationale? Doesn't his analysis make it clear that much court activism is simply the judicial equivalent of my old cop's benign brutality?

And are the courts really immune from pressure? Neely puts it beguilingly: "In elected politics, the legislature and executive take idealistic, energetic, ambitious young men and turn them into whores in five years; the judiciary takes good, old, tired, experienced whores and turns them into virgins in five years." But this is an odd way to describe the judges Neely likes best: Warren, Douglas, Brennan. It can be argued that these men, and others like them, have been creatures of a different kind of pressure about which Neely shows no apprehension: the pressure of liberal propaganda, academic and journalistic, which is euphemistically called "public opinion." To that pressure the judiciary has been all too "responsive," even in the rulings Neely cites as proving (even, he admits, to a fault) judicial "independence."

Good Machiavellians have often wished Machiavelli had kept his big mouth shut. I wonder how many liberal proponents of judicial activism will embrace Neely's celebration thereof. Not many, is my hunch.

That's all right. It's good to have a judge—a young, brilliant, irrepressible one—on the record. The book may be wrong; it could be better written. But I can't wish it unwritten. Books may be good or bad; but before they are either, they are among the quick or the dead. This one belongs among the quick. It very snappily lays a lot of cards on the table, and does tell us, very engagingly, a good deal about how America is really governed. □

Trial and Error: The Detroit School Segregation Case
By Eleanor P. Wolf
Wayne State, 372 pp., $19.95

A SWEETHEART SUIT

RALPH A. ROSSUM

In his reflections on *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, the late Alfred H. Kelly introduced the phrase "law-office history," by which he meant the distortion, misuse, and manipulation of historical evidence to win a court case. In this excellent book, Eleanor Wolf examines a similar practice concerning the use and abuse of social science evidence—what she dubs "courtroom sociology." The focus of her study is another landmark desegregation case: *Milliken* v. *Bradley*, in which, at the trial court level, Federal District Court Judge Stephen Roth relied heavily on social science testimony in finding the Detroit Board of Education guilty of racial discrimination and in holding that the only effective remedy was extensive, inter-district busing. The size and scope of the remedy mandated by Judge Roth—massive interchanges between Detroit and 52 suburban school districts containing 780,000 students—was by far the most ambitious plan for racial dispersion the nation had ever seen. In 1974, by a single vote, the Supreme Court struck down this remedy on the grounds that since only Detroit had been found guilty of segregation, the remedy, too, must be confined to Detroit.

Professor Wolf carefully reviews the many thousand pages of the official record of *Milliken* in order "to discover what kinds of expert testimony from the social sciences had been utilized in these proceedings, to evaluate the quality and inclusiveness of these materials, and to estimate their impact and influence." What she finds and documents with great care and admirable scholarship can be summarized as follows: Much of what was presented by expert witnesses putatively speaking on behalf of what social science knows concerning the three major issues of the trial—residential segregation, racial concentration in schools, and social factors in learning—was distorted, incomplete, undocumented, and of low quality. Further, it was frequently marked by a false impression of rigor and precision and was often guilty of inferring cause-effect relationships that had not been shown to exist. Professor Wolf variously describes this social science testimony as "scarcely above the level of pop-sociology" and as being "at so low a level as to be a caricature of social science." She even documents instances where prominent social scientists assumed the witness stand as expert witnesses for the plaintiffs and flatly contradicted claims they had recently published in the scholarly journals, all, apparently, to aid and abet what they considered to be the higher cause of racial integration.

Even worse, these pseudo-social-scientific assertions often went unchallenged, by both opposing counsel and the judge. Professor Wolf offers two explanations for this—the first specifically related to the instant case and the second generally applicable to all litigation. Concerning the specific aspects of *Milliken*, it is not far off the mark to characterize this case as a sweetheart suit. The defendant, the Detroit Board of Education, had been aggressively pursuing integrationist policies for a

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RANDOM NOTES

■ SOME NOVEMBER TITLES: John F. Stacks argues in *Watershed: The Campaign for the Presidency, 1980* (Times Books, $16.95) that the election of Ronald Reagan marked the end of the "great age of social engineering," the beginning of "a new course of caution and restraint" in American governance. . . . According to William H. Sullivan, former U.S. Ambassador to Iran and author now of a memoir, *Mission to Iran* (Norton, $14.95), the Carter Administration resolutely ignored warning upon warning of impending disaster. After siege was laid to the American Embassy, Zbigniew Brzezinski asked Sullivan to look into the possibility of a reverse coup d'etat, a request which the Ambassador—*he* thinks, to his credit—rebuffed with vile oaths.

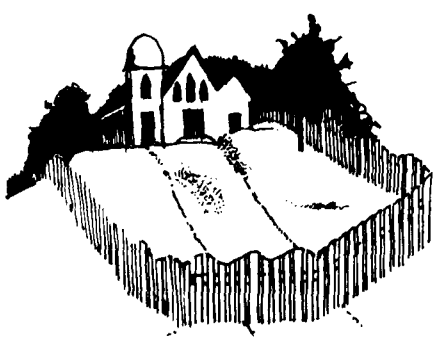
Larry Woiwode's latest novel is *Poppa John* (Farrar, $10.95), a brief volume concerning a day in the life of an unhappy soap-opera actor. . . . *Surfaces of a Diamond* (Louisiana, $12.95), a novel about a young boy's passage into maturity, is by Louis D. Rubin, the literary critic and scholar. . . . Paul Mariani's *William Carlos Williams: A New World Naked* (McGraw-Hill, $22.95) makes a case for its subject's artistic supremacy over even Pound, Eliot, and Stevens, and argues that Williams's poetry reflects the truest American vernacular. . . . Helen Thurber and Edward Weeks are the editors of *Selected Letters of James Thurber* (Atlantic/Little-Brown, $15). The collection adds 140 Thurber letters to the number that the author himself published in his lifetime, and carries for illustrations some of Thurber's own *New Yorker* cartoons. . . . John Janovy Jr. continues to celebrate life in the Sand Hills of Nebraska in *Back in Keith County* (St. Martin's, $10.95).

■ CORRECTION: It was erroneously stated in our October 16 issue that the publisher of Thomas Sowell's *Markets and Minorities* is Basil Blackwell. In fact the publisher of the American edition is Basic Books. —CW

decade. By so doing, however, it had lost the bulk of its white students; at the time this litigation arose, its student population was over 70 per cent black. Consequently, it almost welcomed the NAACP's suit, as it anticipated that a finding of racial discrimination on its part might well lead to a remedy that would provide it with access to the white students and tax revenues of the suburbs. Given these circumstances, it was understandably reluctant to challenge assertions, expose deficiencies, or remark upon glaring inconsistencies in the testimony of the expert witnesses of the plaintiff. From its point of view, winning was to be avoided at all costs.

Judge Roth proved to be no more able than defense counsel had been willing to challenge these claims. Judge Roth was not trained in social science and had no understanding of its methods. Thus, even on those infrequent occasions when counsel and expert witnesses did clash openly concerning what social science research indicated, he did not seem to appreciate that the very existence of opposing conclusions in science is a sign that there is something very seriously wrong with the evidence that is being presented. Disagreement is normal in law, and Judge Roth could understand that. The adversary procedures by which both sides state their case were familiar to him. However, the aim of science, unlike law, is agreement on evidence, and there simply cannot be two sides to validated scientific generalizations. Had Judge Roth understood this fact, it is unlikely that he would have based his opinions concerning discrimination and its appropriate remedy so centrally on what expert witnesses testified to be scientific truth. He would have concluded either that what was presented in his courtroom was not good social science or that social science, despite its pretensions, is not so much science as ideology masquerading as science.

Judge Roth's inability to assess the claims of social science was not unique to him or this lawsuit, and this leads to Professor Wolf's second and more generally applicable explanation of why courts have difficulty assessing social science evidence. She skillfully argues that the adjudicative process renders all but impossible a systematic consideration of social science findings on a specific topic. In so doing, she makes an especially valuable contribution to the growing and important body of literature concerning the institutional capacity of the courts to make social policy. Her impressive piece of scholarship can give very little comfort indeed to those judges and their defenders who believe that there is no public policy issue, however massive, complex, or technical, that cannot be adequately resolved through the standard processes of litigation. □



The No-Risk Society
By Yair Aharoni
Chatham House, 228 pp., $25

THE NO-WIN SOCIETY

ALAN L. MILLER

Throughout his successful 1980 campaign, candidate Ronald Reagan brought cheers from the crowds by pledging to curb the welfare state. Now that President Reagan is fulfilling his promise, many of the cheers have turned to jeers as special-interest groups drive their wagons into a circle to defend against the Administration's budget cuts.

Old habits are hard to break. During the past four decades, Americans have grown so accustomed to federal paternalism that many doubt their better instincts. A society mesmerized by security is wary of a leader who dares to call for a return to individual initiative.

Yair Aharoni, Issachar Haimovic Professor of Business Policy at Tel Aviv University, believes a new social order has arisen in all countries of the developed world, which demands that government either reduce or shift the risks once borne by individuals. He argues that as political power shifted from the aristocracy to the other classes, government assumed a progressively greater role in managing society. The result was the welfare state. But the last few decades have witnessed an extraordinary transformation of the welfare state into the *insurance* state. As the burden of responsibility has been shifted to society as a whole, individuals have been insulated from a host of problems that include natural disasters, poor health, unemployment, and old age. Their work hours are regulated, as is the safety of the workplace. If their compa-

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ny begins to falter, the government is likely to rescue it through loans, subsidies, and trade agreements. The food they eat, the drugs they take, and the homes in which they live all come under governmental scrutiny of some sort.

Aharoni observes that at present "government is formed to protect its citizens from any economic and social problems, immunize them against almost any change, and insure them against every conceivable hazard." In effect, the state has created a no-risk society, a veritable cocoon which insulates people from the consequences of their actions. Ironically, many of the government's programs to reduce risks have the effect of encouraging individuals to become more reckless.

And this is costly. The author documents that the expense of government's risk-reduction systems is not confined to the public budgets. These programs increase costs in the private sector as well, increases borne by the consumer in the form of higher prices. Health insurance is a case in point. When the bill is paid by the government, the amount appears to be less significant than when the individual must meet the cost of treatment himself. But in fact the nation's financial resources are not endless, and there is a premium to be paid in taxation for each service provided by the government. The cost of a no-risk society has fueled the inflation rate, reduced productivity, dulled personal initiative, and created a corrosive dependency that leads citizens to look to government for protection against all hazards. Aharoni emphasizes that not all risks can be eliminated by passing them on to government. Yet the liberal mind-set assumes that the answer to every social problem is a federal program. The net result is a system that doesn't work because it is expected "to achieve the impossible, prevent the inevitable, and reconcile the irreconcilable." Individuals demand less government yet clamor for those public benefits that are due them.

It is small wonder that the Reagan Administration finds reforming the welfare state to be such a thankless undertaking. But Aharoni believes there is an increased understanding among Americans that government is not omnipo-

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tent and therefore that a no-risk society is impossible. The sooner people recognize that all solutions are imperfect, the sooner this society will be content with a balance between individual and societal rights. Once government regulation is checked, society can devise a system that functions within pragmatic limits. Hence the allocation of risks will be based upon considerations of efficiency, justice, and equity rather than blindly mandated by a federal bureaucracy.

It is too easy to ask the government to solve all of our problems. Aharoni reminds us that if Americans are sincere about wanting less federal interference in their lives, they must change the rules of the game wherein politicians are elected by promising cradle-to-the-grave security. The no-risk society is a costly illusion. It has sapped our strength and made us tentative. But it need not paralyze our national will. For, as President Reagan and this timely book remind us, Americans can either choose the responsibility that accompanies individual initiative, or continue drifting toward the false security of collectivization. The correct choice may involve a calculated risk, but it also improves the odds for our ultimate redemption as a free society. □

Vichy France and the Jews
By Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton
Basic, 411 pp., $20

PRE-EMPTIVE MEASURES

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

On Tuesday, June 30, 1942, Adolf Eichmann, head of the Jewish section of the German Central Security Agency (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*), arrived in German-occupied Paris. He brought with him a directive from Heinrich Himmler: All the Jews of France were to be deported. The order grew out of a decision taken six months earlier, on January 20, 1942, by Nazi leaders under the direction of Reinhard Heydrich, Himmler's deputy. Their meeting at 56-58 Am Grossen Wannsee, Berlin (at which Eichmann took the minutes) produced what was later known as the Wannsee Protocol and became the basis of the "final solution," by which all Jews in Europe were to be killed.

For two years, from the fall of France in June 1940 until Eichmann's arrival in Paris, Marshal Pétain's Vichy policy of antisemitism in Unoccupied France had been preparing the way for the eventual handing over—willingly—of the Jews of France to the Nazi executioners. As the authors of this magisterial piece of historical research put it:

> When the Germans began their systematic deportation and extermination of Jews in 1942, Vichy's rival antisemitism offered them more substantial help than they received anywhere else in Western Europe and more even than they had received from such allies as Hungary and Rumania.

By "Vichy's rival antisemitism," the authors mean the legislative assault on Jews then living in France, particularly the *Statut des juifs* (Statute on the Jews) of October 3, 1940. This law assigned, on the basis of race, the lowest position in French civil law and society to the 350,000 Jews—some 40 per cent native-born French—living on French soil. Earlier, in August 1940, Vichy had repealed a law passed under the Third Republic which barred race libels in the French press. Other laws, directed against Jews exclusively, robbed them of any civic rights in Unoccupied France.

What makes Vichy France's behavior so execrable is that, despite a widespread belief that these laws were the result of German *Diktat*, there isn't a trace of German orders to Vichy in 1940 to adopt antisemitic legislation in the Unoccupied Zone. In fact, the first German ordinance in the Occupied Zone concerned specifically with Jews was not promulgated until September 27, 1940. The Vichy statutes, say the authors, "were autonomous acts taken in pursuit of indigenous goals."

Vichy France's history looks even worse when one compares the humane behavior of Fascist Italy with the Pétain-Laval policies in Unoccupied France. With the fall of France, Mussolini was given eight French departments east of the Rhone for occupation by Italian troops. Mussolini's officers sabotaged the Nazi-Vichy antisemitic policies so consistently that SS officers in France sent back to Berlin "a steady stream of complaints about Italian cooperation." The Italians refused to enforce Vichy's *Statut des juifs* in their zone of occupation. Say the authors:

> During the first half of 1943, a stateless or foreign Jew caught in France could improve his chances of survival by reaching a Fascist country—Spain, Portugal, or Italy.

Had Vichy France wanted to, it could have avoided or minimized the tragic fate of the ninety thousand Jews, including women and children, driven by French police into internment camps for later shipment to the crematoria. Under the 1940 Franco-German armistice terms, the rump French government maintained "significant attributes of sovereignty while the Germans occupied only a portion of the country." France was not administered directly by the Germans, as was Holland, nor did France have Nazi-imposed local rulers like Vidkun Quisling in Norway. There was no German coercion of Vichy for a long time. Nor was Vichy ignorant about what the Nazi deportations meant. News about the mass murders was broadcast from London to France beginning in early July 1942. Marshal Pétain knew; he was not senile. Pierre Laval knew. Both approved of what was going on as a form of pre-emptive antisemitism. The French judiciary and the existing bureaucracy facilitated this legal persecution. There is not a single known case, say the authors, of a French public official who resigned in protest against this legal barbarism. France exemplified what Gibbon meant when he talked about the absence of "public courage" in declining Rome. As Herbert Luethy once wrote: "Vichy represented, not just a repudiation of the Third Republic, but also the completion of many of its secret trends."

Without Vichy's *antisémitisme d'état*, German occupation authorities could not have applied to the degree that they did the final solution which led to the death of 77,000 Jews, one-third of them French citizens. That much is clear from the findings of Professors Marrus

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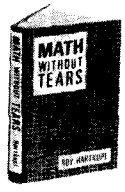

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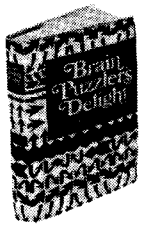

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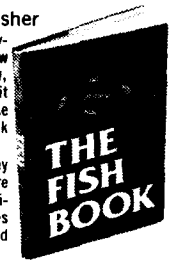

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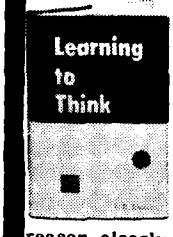

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(University of Toronto) and Paxton (Columbia University). While Vichy adamantly refused to impose the yellow star on its Jewish residents, it took an action in December 1942 that was even more threatening. It ordered all personal documents of Jews in France—identity card, work permit, ration card—to be rubber-stamped with the word *juif* or *juive*. When roundup time came, there was no trouble identifying the victims.

As for the French Resistance, it suffered from a "curious blindspot." The managers of the French railway system raised all manner of objection and resistance to German demands—except about deportation of Jews to Eastern Europe. Nothing interfered with the transports to Auschwitz, even in the summer of 1944, when substantial derailments and sabotage affected other shipments.

This volume is a terrible indictment of Vichy France and the French people who remained in France after the defeat. Except for some Protestant and Catholic churchmen and a few discomfited prefects of police, the regime did what it pleased. Professors Marrus and Paxton have performed an extraordinary scholarly task in bringing together so skillfully and dramatically French and German archival materials from an episode in French history which has not been closely examined. □

FICTION

Take This Man
By Frederick Busch
Farrar, 264 pp., $11.95

PASS THE BOURBON

D. KEITH MANO

There's a Socially Acceptable way to compose fiction. WPA mural writing you might call it. First, choose painfully sensitive people from a modest background: people whose cervices dilate when they see fog broken by dawnlight in Maine. (Sensibility, this is a major Acceptable premise, doesn't belong to the elite or the matriculated.) Second, ensconce them in one of those half-dozen precious human relationships: father-son, mother-grandpa, boy-Buick. Third, raise them up at a very American place: Checkers Speech, Vt. or Humidor, Ill. (not New York). Be real facile with nature description: which description will reinforce the courageous, blunt, inarticulate, wonderful essence of these folk. Fourth, deploy a few primal events. (Never too many: wonderful people are wonderful because they can pad out your whole book from one death or one affair. Also, overplotting will distract from their fine, simple, and wholesome-if-mute personalities. Note: the Socially Acceptable novel is about character, not plot—and should, therefore, be a bit boring.) Fifth—most important, this fifth—don't let them appear too rational. Suggest instead that they are wise or good in some higher way: a way which is beyond any metropolitan, sterile reader's understanding. Checkmate, game, and match: criticism can sign off there. Like being at a cocktail do when the woman-for-abortion is set to tell you (and all within compassion-radius) just how her 13-year-old sister's life was botched by mistaken pregnancy. You don't reason that one out. You shaddap and get another bourbon.

A plainsong-noble prose style goes with this. Use "and" all the time. Not only will it sound biblical (which is just right for Box Spring, Iowa) but it has, to boot, an accretive sound: things and thoughts are piling up on these splendid people. (They can manage, though, somehow, with quiet heroism: even covered to the clavicle with conjunctions.) Repeat your pronoun (monotony-is-truth): he did this and he did that. Excuse me: he felt this and he felt that. Socially Acceptable characters spend half the day feeling: like anemones on a high-tide rock. Don't take me wrong: this kind of prose diction can be quite effective: or at least strong, proud, brave, and imperturbably cryptic. Be sure to requisition accessories from the past: use brand-name language that we all have nostalgia for—Stromberg-Carlson, *Helen Trent*, 1943 Chevrolet. Be old-fashioned as polio. Men and women were more Socially Acceptable back then, whenever, ago.

Here's a representative block of SA prose. (Italicization mine.)

> *He* was working *himself* into a *quiet* hysteria, *his* shoulders jumping all over the back of *his* neck; when *his* mother *hailed her* way into *his* day with a thermos of coffee *and her* dimming hair, still *carried* as if it were a *flag* to men *and her handsome small* face, which at night could look as *worn* as one of the stones [nature] *she* stepped on, *strong*, this early, with whatever *power or pride or* even *arrogance* had carried *her* this far, this long.

This, um, wide. Remember: Socially Acceptable characters can cry. The reader, we will assume, is too upsphinctered for such open, honest and bio-energetic emotion.

Your dialogue, natch, won't exactly be Wildean: these folk are simple,

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straight, and reticent as a clutch of floor lamps. But, for that reason, some way or what, they understand passion without ever having to express it. What they do: they speak in the Profound Elliptic Style:

"He's pretty strong."
"You think of that as strong?"
"Not *right*. Not correct, you know: not easy on the rest of us. But, yes, strong."
"I wasn't criticizing him."
"No, you shouldn't do that."
"And you know what? I always felt as if I didn't know who he was."
"Your father who loved you. He let you know that."
"Yes, he did. But I wanted—"
She shook her head, looked at the blue glass. "I think the rest was for me. Was available to me. Sometimes. And for him, of course. He lived alone a lot."
"You too."
She smiled. "You too."
"We were always in orbit, you know."
"Sweetheart, it beats collison every time. Why are we talking like this?"

Now she asks. Why, indeed? It isn't easy speaking oblique A.M. through P.M. as if the coffeepot were bugged. Try Profound Ellipsis on a real farmer or appliance repair man: they'd refer you to the Latvian delegation.

Socially Acceptable fiction has a DPL plate: it will be exempt from certain inconvenient novelistic by-laws. The obligation to entertain, for instance. Your primal short-form plot can be either a) incredible and foolish (truth is stupider than fiction) or b) trivial and dull (most men lead lives of quiet dissipation) or c) both: incredibly trivial. Significant character, significant theme may be dropped, all at once, like a divorcee from the couples' club: structure is mere affectation. Your mother-figure will be accepted as plucky, genuine, and mysterious (when, in fact, she's an unattractive, mean, power-tripping bitch who won't let her men exhale). Your bumbling, bashful father-figure can be lovable and *strong* (when, in fact, he has used his marvelous ineptitude to cover laziness and heroic self-indulgence). The son—who got stuck with this crew of Acceptable Ellipse Makers—won't realize that he is wasting his time, and mine, on unimportant human material. SA people are, by definition, unimportant. People we might all better emulate if we didn't insist on being so literary and from New York.

Which is why, pass the bourbon, I have to give *Take This Man* by Frederick Busch a good review. □

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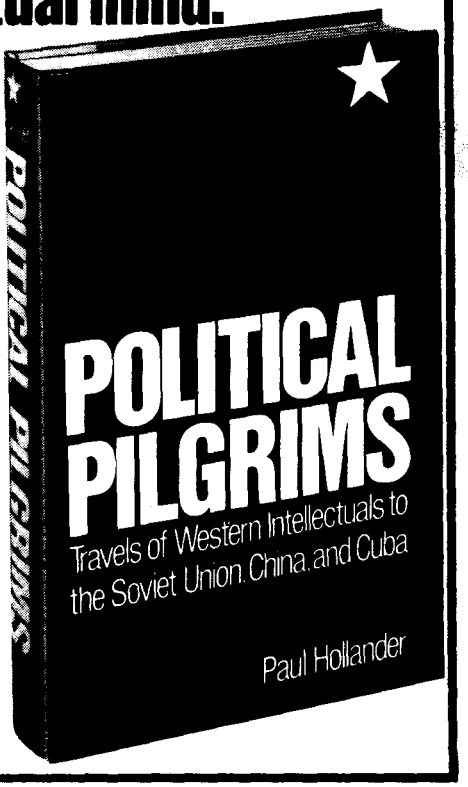
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TELEVISION

ONE-WAY MIRROR

JANE HALL

The 33rd annual Emmy awards, the Pulitzer Prizes of prime-time television, were memorable not so much for who *won* what as for who *was* what. The theme this year was television as One Big Happy Family; and the awards ceremony, broadcast live over CBS to 32 million Americans, was a family reunion.

There is a reason why Carson is Johnny and Greta is Garbo. Despite the diminution of movie glamor in general and on the home screen in particular, watching the Oscars on television is like waving to the Royal Family from the gates of Buckingham Palace. The Emmys are television built on television for television viewers. The festivities are like a video version of Whitman's "Song of Myself," with the tube telling the viewers, "I celebrate myself and sing myself / And what I assume you shall assume." The intimacy—and the identification—are false, however.

TV stars are familiar because they're regular guests in living-rooms across the country. Seeing them dressed up and playing themselves was a treat for the folks back home. The soap-opera stars, who wallow in wretchedness by day, showed that they could sing and satirize themselves in a witty "Ode to the Soaps." Isabel Sanford, the mother on *The Jeffersons*, was cute when, having been caught off guard by her long-awaited award, she accepted while chewing on a piece of cheese. (Imagine Robert Redford with cheddar, and you've got the picture—or the difference.) Lucille Ball was touching in her gruff acceptance of one of those maudlin "lifetime achievement" awards. We loved Lucy. But, after her truly funny routines in film clips from *I Love Lucy* (talk about *familiar*—young people from thirty-year-olds to first-graders can describe in detail the grape-crushing scene and others, thanks to hours of watching 1950s episodes of the Lucy show in afternoon syndication), we couldn't help looking closely—like family—to see how Lucy had aged.

The situation-comedy titles say it best, from *Father Knows Best* to *I Remember Mama*. The TV families created in Hollywood in the 1950s provided a model for the all-American family which few real families could match. Robert Young—briefcase in hand, kissing Jane Wyatt while his TV children laughed happily on the staircase—was such a powerful image that one of the actress-daughters on *Father Knows Best* has said that she received more love from her TV family than from her own. When the image changed—and it's hard to say which came first, the TV chicken or the viewing egg—we were treated in the 1970s to *All in the Family*, *One Day at a Time*, and others in the Norman Lear school of situation comedy, which uses television to "teach" liberal lessons about bigotry, rape, unemployment, and other social issues, and to make legitimate the expression of "feelings." In the 1980s, we have the Ewings of *Dallas*, who outdo the House of Atreus at family intrigue. One wonders what children today are learning about family and business from J.R. as Father who Knows Best.

In its inimitable shamelessness, television fed the hand that bit it with a reading on the Emmys from Paddy Chayevsky's theatrical film, *Network*. As Chayevsky's mad TV anchorman Howard Beale, Rod Steiger exhorted the audience at home (or was it the audience of TV stars in the Pasadena auditorium?): "We are the illusion—you people are the real thing." This simplistic exaltation of the common man does not go far enough—and, on the screen, amounted merely to more arrogance from television, as the medium once again interpreted reality.

Television is a one-way mirror. Americans would be better advised to turn regularly to their own families or neighbors for conversation—except for the fact that their families are spread out across the country, live in high-rise apartment complexes, and have TV as their faithful companion. At least we could follow the advice of the phone company, which—with heart-tugging scenes of transcontinental families in its TV commercials during the awards program—urged viewers, via their telephones, to "reach out and touch someone." It's new-age communication; but, without gainsaying network television's genuine power to entertain, inform, comfort, and unite the population, it's better than following the advice of Howard Beale. What could be lonelier than shouting out the window, "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take it any more"? □

SOUND ON DISC

BACH GOES TO TOWN

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

"The closer the performing conditions for Sebastian Bach's concerted music are approximated to those of early eighteenth century provincial Germany, the more the music sounds like twentieth century American swing." Virgil Thomson, a wonderfully perceptive and original critic, wrote those words in 1940, at about the time that Benny Goodman was recording *Bach Goes to Town*. Thomson was saying what those of us who loved jazz and the older forms were slowly beginning to realize. For in Bach's baroque, there is the same unalterable beat about which the embellishments range, the "wiggly counterpoint"—Thomson's phrase—and the steady ground bass.

There is one other phase of comparison. In performance, both jazz and Bach to be good have to be very good. If not they are a bore. More important, what baroque music and jazz have in common is that in both eras and development those who performed were discovering and pushing out the boundaries of their instruments. Instruments and instrumentation were evolving in the baroque period. Jazz musicians were taking the instruments that had evolved in the past and, in learning how to play them, creating a different voice.

Forgive me if I ride my hobbyhorse. For those who take a more traditional road to music, it should be significant that the *concerto* was an Italian creation, and yet was lifted to its greatest heights by a composer who never set foot out of Germany. In the baroque period, the performer was also composer for he had to create filigrees of hemidemisemiquavers about the long notes. The composer, moreover, had to write for instruments which had not yet been set in instrumental concrete—something which must be reckoned in listening to the music of Bach.

Forgive me again for this long caden-

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za. It is an introduction to a series of Bach recordings issued by the Smithsonian Institution. Taken together, they are a musical landmark and a great delight. We have had, Lord knows, enough recordings of the Brandenburg concerti. We have heard Wanda Landowska and rhapsodized. And, if we are fortunate, we have experienced the sonatas for violin and harpsichord or basso continuo. Perhaps we have even viewed the playing of the violin sonatas with loose bow.

What the Smithsonian recordings combine is authenticity and inspiration. Now authenticity can sometimes be a bore—like a group of Rhinemaidens cavorting on a river bank to the toots of passing steamers. I thought I had approached the *ne plus ultra* in the Brandenburg concerti in Otto Klemperer's four-square renditions some forty years ago. But as traversed by the Orchestra of the Aston Magna Festival, each concerto is a small revelation. To begin with, the concerti are played on the original instruments—and I am not quite sure if I can convey what this entails in musicianship. But precisely because the old instruments lack the sonority of the new, the Brandenburgs unfold in a different way and come closer to the beautiful pattern of notes on Bach's score.

Of the harpsichord partitas, six of them by James Weaver on a 1745 Dulcken harpsichord, I hesitate to write since Owd Bill, the Buckley, plucks a note or two from that instrument—though with discretion. The harpsichord is a beautiful and nasty instrument and recalls the libel of the oboe that it is an ill wind which nobody blows good. There are no built-in dynamics in the harpsichord, no sustained notes, which if I were vulgar would lead me to say that it is a bitch to play. Just read Emanuel Bach's strictures on the subject and you will know what I mean. I will make no odious comparisons about greatness, but Weaver plays these partitas for solo harpischord with a communicative excitement and a brilliance which, I plead, I have not found elsewhere. His left hand is solid, in the jazz sense—solid as the Rock of Gibraltar—and his right hand sensitive and nimble.

Writing about music is an exercise in nostalgia. I remember my wonderment, so many years ago, as Ruggiero Ricci opened up the unaccompanied violin sonatas of Bach for me. I had thought

says that resources are getting more plentiful and that we benefit from population growth.

The food situation worldwide is improving rather than deteriorating. We are not "running out" of natural resources. Instead—though it is hard to believe—natural resources and energy have been getting less scarce for decades. The supply of cropland is increasing around the world. And pollution in the U.S. is on the decline.

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of Bach primarily as a composer for the keyboard—not of course forgetting his church music. Yet as the notes for *Six Sonatas for Violin and Harpsichord, Two Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo* remind us, Bach was also a violinist at Weimar at the court of Duke Johann Ernst. And it is for the violin that he wrote some of his most affecting music. In these Smithsonian recordings, Sonya Monosoff plays a violin reconstructed to the specifications of the Bach period.

It is a gentler, less noble, more expressive instrument, particularly in the higher registers, and most touching in the double-stops. For all the surge of joy in the Brandenburgs, the excitement of the harpsichord partitas, these sonatas—is it a bad form to say?—penetrate the musical soul of Bach. In summing up these three sets—nine records in all—I must attest that if I had to choose what Bach records to take to a desert island, what the Smithsonian Institution has so magnificently produced would win hands down. That is the measure of my enthusiasm. □

DELECTATIONS

THE BOOZE INDEX

NIKA HAZELTON

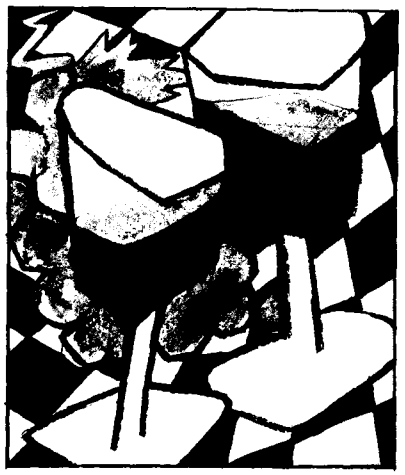
Nostalgia has never gotten anybody anywhere, as the American liquor industry, to its sorrow, is finding out. According to *Impact*, the authoritative wine and spirits marketing publication, for the first time in U.S. history, there is less liquor than white wine being shipped, meaning that more people drink white wine than spirits. Manly distilled spirits declined 3.7 per cent to a total shipment of 455 million gallons, whereas shipments of effete wine increased 7.1 per cent to 475.8 million gallons in 1980.

Whisky, which, according to some authorities, made red-blooded Americans out of puny immigrants, took the worst drubbing. In 1970 it had 63 per cent of the entire booze market; by 1980 its share amounted to only 45 per cent.

It is anybody's privilege to interpret this batch of figures to his/her or her/his heart's content. Do they mean that the nation required strong water to cope with Nixon's Presidency, whereas under Reagan we can hold up on our own? Scotch, mighty Scotch, came off its perch in the worst way during the last ten years, falling by 10.8 per cent to 46 million gallons. But not only did the mighty fall; the humble blended whiskies, once the mainstays of the neighborhood bars and the simple happy hour, dropped to their lowest point of 40 million gallons—a drop of 10.2 per cent to a mere 8.8 per cent of a market where its share had stood at 19 per cent.

However, all was not lost to white wine. Bourbon and Canadian whisky held their own, more or (perhaps rather) less. These whiskies are what the trade calls "brown goods." "White goods," though not always as lily-white as gin and vodka since they include rum and tequila, also for the first time took a fall over the last decade: down 2.9 per cent to 179 million gallons. Gin was down by 4.5 per cent, but the more sensational fall was vodka's. After having climbed astronomically for ten years, vodka sales were off by 4.9 per cent. I cannot say that I am sorry for gin and vodka, especially not the latter, considering the many horrid vodkas spawned by the cupidity of the liquor industry. But people still believe that vodka is the drink that does not tell the world, so it remains the leader, with 21 per cent of the entire spirits market.

It's interesting to see that hard liquor with a flavor is doing somewhat better than before, as witness rum and tequila.



Rum sales have risen by 9.6 per cent per year over the last decade and are now up to 35 million gallons; and tequila, by 4.3 per cent, up to 7 million gallons. Brandy, almost all of it imported, has climbed to 20 million gallons, an increase of 6 per cent. We are no longer a nation of cocktail and mixed-drink imbibers, as anyone knows who has been to a bar or entertains guests. But it is a moot point whether we have improved upon cocktails—the nation has taken to Irish cream liqueurs as to mother's milk. "Beats vodka and orange juice," I was told by the only professional weight-lifter I know (ask me not why or wherefrom).

I don't know if people who drink white wine instead of liquor or aperitifs before dinner think they're made of a finer cloth—maybe they are. We live in a society where the rich show status by not eating and drinking, while talking endlessly and boringly about food and cooking and wines. But I also know that white-wine drinkers hardly ever ask what kind of white wine they've been given before dinner, despite their pride in knowing wines. (I exempt professional wine people from this statement.) I did a survey on this phenomenon, and bartenders and restaurateurs had noticed the same thing. Your guess is as good as mine as to what this proves. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Sand Rivers, *by Peter Matthiessen (Viking, 213 pp., $19.95).* Peter Matthiessen seems temporarily to have run out of wild places, at least wild places interesting enough to fully engage his talents—which is like saying that Shakespeare in some later chronicle plays ran out of kings as engaging as Richard II and Richard III, a niggardly regret. Not that the Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania lacks interest. As the largest and least known semi-protected wilderness in Africa, the Selous is still populated by herds of elephants, hippopotami, water buffalo, kudu, impala, the last of the almost extinct rhinoceros, crocodiles, and an incredible variety of birds and snakes; but because man has been virtually removed (to protect the animals) and there is no jungle or high mountains to relieve the monotony of sand rivers and bush, the author falls back perforce into anecdotal recreation of the

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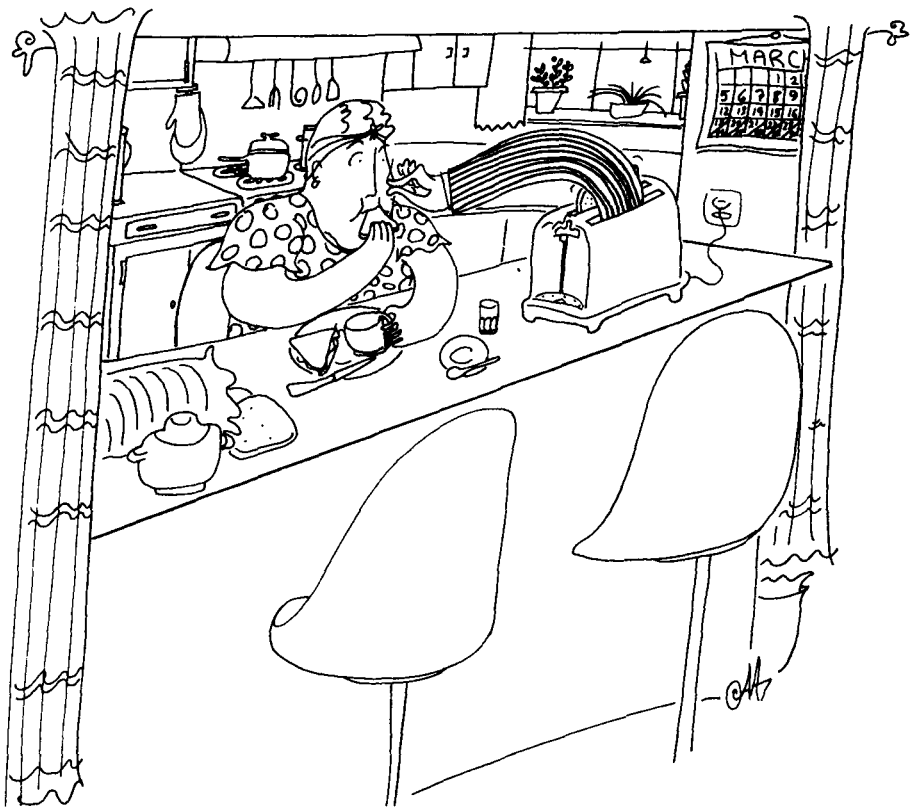
exploits of the pioneers of the Selous, and at times into the sort of dry reportage of zoological-botanical data that seems to belong more properly in a seed catalogue or a classroom. But if *Sand Rivers* is not by a long shot another *Snow Leopard*, that is not to say that Peter Matthiessen ever fails to draw the reader into his beguiling orbit, or to rise at times into poetry as pure as the photographs (by Hugo van Lawick) that accompany his text: "The world resounds until the frogs' own ears are ringing, until all identity is lost in a big-eyed cosmic ecstasy of frog song. In an hour or two, as the night deepens, the singing impulse dies, leaving the singers limp, perhaps dimly bewildered; remembering danger, they push slowly at the earth with long damp toes and fingers, edging backward into their clefts and crannies, pale chins pulsing." The matrix of such passages is the author's self-awareness, the courting of danger not out of bravado but to savor ultimates in experience—"Politely, I ignored the rule about the scout, since the presence of a guard with a loaded rifle would destroy the feeling of intensity and vague suspense that is one of the pleasures of walking about in Africa." Beyond that there is the *morality* that motivates every good artist: ". . . how crucial it was that the Selous be saved, not only for economic reasons and for Tanzania's future but as a counterweight to headlong 'progress,' to help keep man in balance and harmony with the other creatures of the earth." SELDEN RODMAN



VORTEX, *by Timothy Materer (Cornell, 231 pp., $12.50).* Professor Materer writes about Vorticism from two angles: as a collection of pronouncements about art, and as a collection of artistic works. The distinction is necessary because the school's artist-publicists often said one thing and did another. Various poems, letters, editorials, and outright manifestos extending from 1908 to the last fulminations of Ezra Pound, its most vociferous booster, described Vorticism as the proud voice of the machine age. The dynamo and the assembly line were its inspiration. Its graphics were angular, its prose hard-edged, its poetry clipped. But Pound's poems relied heavily on traditional rhythmic patterns. T. S. Eliot's works bemoaned the alienation of modern man. Henri Gaudier-Brzeska created just one vigorously Vorticist work, and even it looked like a fish —unacceptable, as Vorticism disdained "organic" influences. Doctrine poured from the pens of Pound and Wyndham Lewis, and feisty stuff it was. But it did less to guide artists in general than to give vent to half-baked ideas of a tight artistic clique (from which, for example, James Joyce was excluded). Materer suggests it should simply have been cut out, as it led to embarrassing excesses. In the Thirties, pro-Nazi writings issued from Pound, Lewis, and the normally circumspect Eliot. Their rationale: the Vorticist love of order. Eliot and Lewis soon retracted, but the headstrong Pound plunged deeper still. As late as 1952 he defended, from a lunatic asylum, his decision to ride out the war on the side of Il Duce. It was a step in the direction of artistic rènaissance, he said. Renaissance: the movement's publicists never tired of clamoring for it. True to Vorticist dogma, they believed it could be brought about artificially. If everybody just worked efficiently for the cause, the grandest art the world had ever seen would roll off the assembly line. Materer figures Vorticism peaked with Gaudier-Brzeska, who was killed in combat in WW I. The propaganda droned on for fifty years. When it subsided, a handful of more or less Vorticist works had won the popular following the movement had sought so energetically. By Materer's reckoning these included a few Lewis paintings, Eliot's *Waste Land*, and some Gaudier-Brzeska. Conspicuous by their absence were Pound's *Cantos*. The chief tub-thumper had fallen short. PAUL T. HORNAK

RITES OF PASSAGE, *by William Golding (Farrar, 278 pp., $10.95).* William Golding, the noted novelist, spent five years in the Royal Navy during WW II—experience he draws on for his ninth opus, which is partially about the sea, and particularly about a ship aboard which young Edmund Talbot sails from England to a high position in Tasmania. During the journey he keeps a diary for the benefit of his powerful uncle who, immobilized by the gout, will enjoy the transcription of deeds on the page so much the better. Enjoyable though the diary occasionally is, the motivations and private struggles of the several characters fail to leave their mark. They file before us in a rather stuffy parade: Mr. Prettiman, the freethinker; Mr. Colley, the parson, Mr. Anderson, the captain; Mr. Wheeler, the servant; Mr. Brocklebank, the would-be artist; Zenobia, his charming and available daughter. They chat, they intermingle, they cheat, and young Talbot is in the midst of them all, extemporizing on mores and manners, filling every possible nook and cranny of his narration with pedantically literary observations that impinge upon the real story and cause it to sag. If *Rites of Passage* was intended as an essay describing the transition from Romantic to modern style the effort is laudable; but as the umpteenth allegory of the ship as microcosm it limps. It sounds more like the Gospel according to John explained by Evelyn Waugh to a group of Rotarians. NEREO E. CONDINI

THE LAW OF LONGER LIFE, *by C. Northcote Parkinson and Herman Le Compte (Troy State University, 253 pp., $10.95).* Historian Parkinson and geriatrician Le

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KEVIN LYNCH

BRASS—JANE BYRNE AND THE PURSUIT OF POWER, *by Kathleen Whalen FitzGerald (Contemporary Books, 229 pp., $11.95).* Short of a book by an immediate family member, a more intimate biography of the outspoken, often controversial mayor of Chicago could not have been written—and this one was done without access to an interview with its subject, at that. Mrs. FitzGerald's own connections with Mayor Byrne stop just short of bloodlines—they are both middle-class Irish Catholic women who grew up in North Chicago between World War II and Vatican II. In this case, the facts collected fit nicely with the initial assumptions made. According to Mrs. FitzGerald, Jane Byrne is very much a product of their shared environment, though her success far outstrips that of other Irish-American women involved in politics. Her singlemindedness, sense of style, and demand for loyalty were learned from her mother, her uncle, Monsignor Edward Burke, and her teachers at Barat College, respectively. The life of her first husband, Marine Lieutenant William Byrne, is also examined in detail, as well as what little is known about his tragic death in a plane crash in 1959. The pace of the book begins to slacken as Mrs. FitzGerald recounts Mrs. Byrne's climb up the ladder of Chicago politics, beginning with her volunteer work for the Kennedy campaign in 1960. There is so much information available on the city's byzantine form of government that little new ground is broken here. For Mrs. FitzGerald, discretion is the better part of valor—*Brass* ends precisely at Jane Byrne's election as mayor in 1979. I could carp about how much Mrs. FitzGerald agrees with Mayor Byrne on matters such as forced busing and big government. But if there are limits to the author's objectivity, they are understandable. Mrs. FitzGerald's meticulous research and Irish gift for language more than compensate.

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Dark Horses

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"THE TROUBLE with environmentalists," you might—if you ever meet him—suggest to Secretary Watt, "is that they suffer from an insufficiency of ideological zeal." (Pause, for greater effect.) "Really—you see, they refuse to carry their ideas to the necessary conclusions. After all, extremism in the pursuit of virtue is no vice." At this point the stuffed moosehead will probably fall from the wall behind the Secretary's desk, but you are now ready to expound a most satisfying argument.

It's not mine; it belongs to Lester O'Shea, a San Francisco real-estate investor and Republican County Central Committee chairman, who has written a book called *Tampering with The Machinery: Roots of Political and Economic Malaise* (McGraw-Hill, $11.95), to which William E. Simon has contributed a Foreword. Here, in brief, is O'Shea's thesis:

> It is interesting that there has been so much publicity about the evils of tampering with the natural ecology and nothing to speak of about the socio-politico-economic ecology. The same people who take a militant Sierra Club-environmentalist approach to 'tampering with nature' take a Corps of Engineers approach when it comes to society, politics, and economics. We must not dam this river, or build this pipeline, or cut this forest without first making an exhaustive, careful study of all possible consequences. But if we see something in human society which we do not like, the only decent, enlightened, and forward-looking thing to do is to immediately pass a law or hand down a court decision dealing with it . . .

I wish I'd said that.

Capitalism, O'Shea points out, is entirely *natural*. It is the economic system every society would naturally evolve, if left to do so, because it consists of people doing what comes naturally. Human society is an organism, subject to laws with which we tamper through labor, minimum wage, and welfare legislation at our peril. Unfortunately, the history of the past fifty years has been mainly the story of how the three branches of government have tinkered with the guts of American society.

Every system, O'Shea argues, exists in an environment to which it is suited. Ours is the democratic-capitalist environment. Some people don't like it, but most of us are committed to it, in practice if not in theory. And yet, in the economic and socio-political spheres, influences are at work which are at odds with it: regulation, on the one hand, and socialist theory and sentiment on the other. The result is a damaged national ecology in which people's economic and social wants are not being satisfied.

IN 1977 a Yale political scientist named Charles Lindblom wrote a very influential book called *Markets and Politics* in which he argued that, anyway, Americans' "wants" are the product of brainwashing by business corporations. Four years later a little book, *Does Big Business Rule America?* (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1211 Connecticut Ave., Washington D.C.; $3), edited by Robert Hessen, takes on Lindblom. All the essays—many of them reprints of reviews—are excellent: the contributors include James Q. Wilson and Paul J. Halpern. But the best of them is a brilliant piece by David Stockman, now President Reagan's Budget Director, called "How the Market Outwits the Planners." Here Stockman replies to Lindblom's claim that our "megaproblems"—pollution, energy scarcity, the population explosion, etc.—require long-term planning by the best and brightest who can "ameliorate . . . problems and guide social change with a high degree of success."

Stockman effectively destroys this position by demonstrating that planners lack the imagination to foresee society's creative potential for intellectual and technological flexibility, and therefore incline to adopt defeatist strategies that dull incentives and prevent social, economic, and technological breakthroughs from occuring. Beneath the blow-dried locks is a very fine mind at work. □

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a word edgewise *from* An Old Liberal Cold Warrior

JOHN P. ROCHE

THE HELICOPTER FANTASY

Boston, Oct. 2—The United States is about to send 12 troop-carrier helicopters to Colombia for counterinsurgency purposes. So far this year we have provided 14 to El Salvador. The argument is that the choppers increase the mobility of government troops, make it possible to pin and destroy guerrillas, and provide the element of surprise. Forgotten is the other side of the ledger: choppers cannot clear and hold guerrilla turf, a precondition for pacification.

This was vividly brought home to me in 1966 by Graham Martin, one of our great foreign service officers who unfortunately had to pay for the sins of others when, bleak-faced and heartsick, he brought the Stars and Stripes out of Saigon. Graham was in 1966 ambassador to Thailand, where I was a guest in his home.

After dinner we went into his study and he began going over the piles of assembled paper. Thailand then, and now, was plagued by two insurgencies: one (Chinese Communist-sponsored) on the Malaysian border, and the other (Hanoi-sponsored) in the Northeast. The ambassador read one document with particular care, then chucked it to me. "The Thai military shopping list," he said. "What do you think of it?"

The first thing I noticed was an outsized request for three types of helicopters, and some fancy airplanes. For the benefit of those who came in late, I should note that Ambassador Martin and I both belonged to the underground in the U.S. Government that supported the defense of Indochina from the butchers, but thought the McNamara strategy, which President Johnson followed, disastrous.

"It sounds as though they want to blow up the Khorat Plateau instead of pacifying it," I commented. "Has somebody from MACV [Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, headed by General William Westmoreland] been bringing them up to speed?" MACV, on Johnson-McNamara's orders, was putting its stock in "Americanization," that is, in mobility, "Search and Destroy," and massive use of airpower. The South Vietnamese army was to play a minimal role.

The comment had a hidden meaning because because Ambassador Martin had refused General Westmoreland permission to come to Thailand on several occasions and had blocked a McNamara effort to create a unified military command for Vietnam and Thailand—with "Westy" as pro-consul. Martin chuckled, took back the document, lined out most of the choppers and aircraft, and said "Dick [Stillwell, the general in charge of our military assistance program in Thailand] will have to tell them to teach their army to walk. They must clear roads, not fly over them."

Colombians and Salvadorans should be given the same message. Mobility is obviously important, but the trouble is that it passes as a quick fix for a fundamental, structural problem of the military organizations of most regimes under guerrilla assault. It resembles building a house roof first. What the Colombian, Salvadoran, Honduran, and other armed forces need first is good small-unit training.

Indeed, those of us who survived the long march on Indochina consider the most striking resemblance between events in Central America today and those in Vietnam twenty years ago to be in the quality of the local military forces. Like South Vietnam's army, the armies have virtually no well-trained NCOs and company grade officers. You can dispatch a company to the field in half an hour in helicopters, but then what will they do?

SMALL-unit actions are the most difficult to mount and coordinate. Example: a village populated by apolitical peasants is seized by left-wing guerrillas who have been well trained on hit-and-run tactics in their Nicaraguan sanctuary. Two companies of government troops are rushed by air to the scene. Their mission? To clear the villages: house-to-house fighting.

But house-to-house fighting is an art form involving trained teams leap-frogging under protective fields of fire. Moreover, in a civil strife, the use of grenades chucked in windows is counterproductive: you don't want to kill your own people who are probably huddled in the basement. It comes down to smoking out snipers almost one by one, and effective use of non-lethal chemicals.

But if the destiny of the Free World hinges on saving Salvador in two weeks, who is going to bother with this sort of painstaking unit training? Why not surround the village and, if the rebels don't come out with a white flag, send for the gunships or fighter bombers?

This was Somoza's tactic and it worked like a charm—recruiting guerrillas who probably never heard of Sandino or even Castro, but hated a regime that had blown up their town and killed their relatives and friends. In a couple of years they will probably hate the new crowd even more, but history is irreversible. In short, let's never forget our objectives: pacification not obliteration. □

UPLIFT IN ISLAM

Boston, Sept. 28—Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic Revolutionary Party is undergoing quite an uplifting experience at the hands of the People's Mujahedeen opposition. Indeed, one Hajatolislam (Ayatollah, Junior Grade) made the Guiness Book of Records by rising one hundred feet in the air when the Mujahedeen touched off some sacramental dynamite under his prayer rug. Ironically, he was drafted by Khomeini to end the sanguinary uplift campaign: he obviously executed the wrong missionaries.

Black humor, but Iran as we have perceived it over the last half-century has plunged back into the Dark Ages. The war to the death between the Islamic Revolutionaries and the People's Mujahedeen is centrally concerned with the question: "Which set of feudal bandits is better qualified to rule fourteenth century Persia?" All hands are ferocious anti-modernists.

Our difficulties arise from the assumption that Iran is a modern state, one whose behavior would fulfill the norms taken for granted—if not fully observed—by the modern community. Thus we blinded ourselves to reality from the outset: we tried, for example, to negotiate the hostages' release as though we were dealing with, say, France. Indeed, we no more anticipated the Iranian cauldron than we would an official massacre of French Protestants on Valentine's Day.

This cultural myopia was, of course, reinforced by the Iranians we knew—in

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my case, taught—and by visits to the Shah's Teheran, where Westerners spent their time in business with the modernized—that is Westernized—business and cultural elite. Curiously, as my students' actions upon the overthrow of the Shah indicated, we believed the official press releases emphasizing Iran's modernity.

These innocents, who had spent much of their time in the late 1970s protesting the Shah's corruption, the brutality of Savak, the secret police, and the lack of democracy, flocked back to help build the "progressive revolution" of their dreams. I warned them, but then I was an antique American "imperialist" with no grasp of the spirit of the progressive age. I am old enough not to enjoy seeing my predictions come true: I hope they are not entries on the butcher's bill.

Is education on the fundamental level largely a waste of time? Does everyone have to learn the hard way, to discover the answers to great questions about life and death for him or herself? Probably I did, although as a teacher I have a vested interest in the premise that intergenerational communication can operate in the realm of values as well as facts. In any event, these young Iranians have had to pay dearly for an education.

They didn't know anything about the two-thirds of the population of Iran that live in abject poverty outside of time and modern history. They were, as were most Westerners, incapable of understanding the elemental role of religious nationalism both, in Marx's phrase, as "the opium of the masses," and as a catalyst against movements of change which threaten the traditional value of structure.

This is not an abstract matter: in 1967 I was riding through Bali, Indonesia, accompanying Vice President Hubert Humphrey on a state visit. In every Balinese village the populace turned out in full dress with exotic musical instruments and dancers: it was positively mesmerizing, this dream world of happy, gentle people. Hubert rose to the occasion with a speech about this bucolic paradise.

In the car with me was one of the top political analysts from the American Embassy, who seemed less impressed than most "emboffs" at playing chaperone to a VIP junket. I asked him if he disliked his ride-on role in *South Pacific*? His reply stopped me cold: "These 'gentle' people stopped playing music and dancing in the fall of 1965 long enough to murder 25,000 'enemies of the people,' that is, the Chinese shopkeepers and moneylenders who were their creditors—and their families."

The Chinese in Indonesia, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, have been doubly damned: first, for their nationality, and, second, because as the entrepreneurial elite they are agents of modernization in an essentially peasant society. The Indians played the same role in East Africa, and were dispossessed and, if lucky, deported by black nationalists. When Libya was liberated from Italy after World War II, the first thing the Senusi nomads did was destroy electric generators and power lines.

What we must learn from Iran is the fragility of modernity and the modern "rules of the game." In essence we are watching a poker game where all cards are wild. □

THE CANADIAN BOMB TICKS

Boston, Oct. 12—Considering these two large, dynamic nations live next door to us sharing lengthy frontiers, it is appalling how little the average American knows about Mexico or Canada. Recently we explored the problems faced by the "Institutionalized Revolution" in Mexico as its candidates encounter advocates of the next revolution rather than the last. Today let's put Canada—or perhaps the Canadas?—under the microscope.

The federal government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau is by United States standards weak. Indeed, as a "Confederation" Canada represents the old Southern ideal overpowered by Union armies in the Civil War. The authority of the central government with respect to the provinces (states) is notably limited.

Canada, though a sovereign nation in international law, still has as its organizational charter the British North American Act of 1867, which set up the former Dominion. Other Dominions, such as Australia and New Zealand, have their own constitutions and run their affairs virtually free of London. However, Canada's constitutional convention was until this year the British Parliament.

For complex historical reasons, any basic change in the relations between the federal government and the ten provinces thus had to be settled in London. London wanted nothing to do with it and was delighted to "patriate" the Canadian constitution and let the locals write their own fundamental law. When the seemingly routine issue came to the House of Commons, however, there suddenly appeared a number of officials from various Canadian provinces urging Britain not to let go. They didn't want independence on Trudeau's terms!

Back in Ottawa, with British approval, Prime Minister Trudeau set to work to enact a revised constitution and a bill of rights. Suddenly he got slapped with a lawsuit by a number of provinces who went to the Canadian Supreme Court claiming he would require provincial approval for any proposed changes—as here, where three-quarters of our states must approve constitutional amendments.

While the Supreme Court didn't bean Trudeau, it dusted him. Last week it held that while there was no legal impediment to the central government's changing the framework of government without provincial approval, to do so—to paraphrase—would be an extremely dirty trick. Instead of settling matters, this left the eight dissenting provinces with a moral victory.

Leaving the ghostly world of jurisprudence, what is all the agitation about? Answer: two of the worst afflictions a nation can confront—money and ethnicity. While the anti-Trudeau coalition has included Quebec and the wealthy provinces, it is a marriage of pure convenience. Canada, instead of a north-south problem, has in economic terms faced an east-west split, now modified by off-shore oil discoveries near Newfoundland in the east.

Until the "Newfies" defected, the four eastern Maritime provinces plus Quebec's French-speaking majority were economically depressed. Canadian prosperity really began in Ontario and ran west through the oil and natural gas assets, and intensive agriculture of the midwestern provinces, to lush British Columbia. The westerners felt they ran a dole for the Maritimes and the "habitants" of Quebec. Canadian "first worlders" got a bit tired of carrying their domestic "third world," and want a weak central government.

BEYOND this are the additional fissures between Quebec and all other provinces. Not only has Quebec been poor, but also French-speaking and Catholic, politically a noxious brew. In the last decade, a generation of young Quebec politicians has come to the fore demanding a new relationship with Ottawa—depending on time, place, and audience, it can range from full independence to some sort of genial autonomy.

Its political arm, the "Parti Quebecois" was elected to power at the provincial level in 1976, although Trudeau's Liberal Party won the national "ridings" (seats) in Quebec in a subsequent confederal election. Thus the last connecting link between Ottawa and Quebec at the political level was Trudeau's party, which under the provincial leadership of Claude Ryan was supposed to keep the "Quebecois" on a leash.

Now, in Jefferson's striking phrase, we have heard a "fire bell in the night": Ryan led most of his liberals into an anti-Trudeau coalition with the "Quebecois" against Trudeau's constitution. Canada as we have known it may come apart at the seams. □

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The True Cause of the Slump?

On The Right

New York, Oct. 6—In my lifetime such grave respect has not been extended to the Stock Market. We were trained, in the post-New Deal era, to think of it as a barometer of quick profit. The market was up? Business is good—and the great public is paying for it all. The Stock Market is down? Business is not so good—but it is paying over some of its huge profits to the great public, and that is transcendently good. It has been since before I can remember that the liberal-philanthropic-intellectual lobby has gathered, as if at the funeral of the boy who stood on the burning deck, to weep over the Stock Market's demise.

What is the market saying to us? The accepted solution to that question is that the Stock Market is reacting against the tax cuts, on the grounds that they are going to push the estimated deficit for fiscal 1982 from $40 billion to $60 billion. There are, apparently, people who believe this.

Now the estimated deficit for 1982 at $40 billion, rounding off the figures, would mean that all of those technicians surrounding Ronald Reagan forecast that revenues would be less than expenses by 6 per cent. Suddenly the recalculations of July and August based on continued high interest rates and unemployment benefits wrenched that figure away—and added $20 billion to it. At this catastrophic misreckoning, the Stock Market died of shock, and zoomed down 150 points.

Again, there are apparently people who believe this.

My colleague William Rusher has defined a few laws of human behavior of which my favorite is known as the Law of Rusher's Gap. It is best described a posteriori. So you want a swimming pool and you call in the contractor and he tells you it will cost $10,000 but—you are a man of the world, so you know it won't cost $10,000. It will cost $12,500. Rusher's Gap is the difference between $12,500 and what the swimming pool actually comes in at. Say $14,000, or $15,000.

Now if Reagan's technicians prove wrong at $40 billion by the anticipated $20 billion, then their forecasts will have been off by 3 per cent of the budget—not a very big Rusher Gap. If anybody guarantees that he will stay within 3 per cent n the forecasts of anything at all, that man will overnight become a massive industry. The notion that a 3 per cent miscalculation so frightened the entire investment industry that it's going into a tailspin is utterly unrealistic. Last April 27 the Dow Jones was at 1024. Will someone please disclose to us what was the Valentine sent by the Reagan Administration on April 26 that sent it to that high level?

The Stock Market's price level is not to be entirely discounted. But it isn't 3 per cent of the budget that is causing the gloom of the past few weeks. I venture to say that if investors believed that the Reagan course of action would be maintained, i.e., that every year the public sector would decrease by 1 per cent its share of the economy (Reagan proposes to take it to 21 per cent), the Dow Jones would behave like a colt in springtime.

What happened in that critical month of August was, in my own judgment, a crystallizing lack of faith. In Reagan? No. In the democratic system. Every night, on television, every channel devoted substantial time to how, under the new dispensations, this old lady would receive insufficient medical care, or that young boy insufficient lunches, or that young man insufficient help in going to college, or that baby insufficient immunizations. The accumulation of these discontents suggested that the Reagan program was in danger, not because of the internal weakness of its planning (although I think the slow reduction in taxation at the higher levels is precisely such a weakness), but because of the predictable political resistance to national economic husbandry generated by lobbyists for the free lunch.

THE INVESTOR who believes we are really marching away from inflation and on the road to an increase in productivity would not cavil at a 3 per cent miscalculation for the first year. That man is listening not to minor misforecasts in the White House. He is listening to Lane Kirkland, the Black Caucus, and CBS, and the clergymen, and the humanitarian lobby. After all, they controlled the government over the past 15 years, they gave us inflation, a negative rise in true earnings, and a tripled tax by bracket creep. The Dow Jones wonders whether they aren't, given their showing in August, in strategic command of public policy. □

KICK THE MACHINE?

New York, Oct. 10—The ongoing rhetoric about Reagan's "favoring" of the rich reminds me of envy, which reminds me that Ludwig von Mises would have been one hundred years old last month, which reminds me that von Mises wrote a book about envy, which reminds me that Whittaker Chambers wrote me a letter denouncing his thesis. "Von Mises's point is that the anti-capitalist mentality is the product of envy. Hitler explained it differently. He said the Devil in history is the Jew. Envy is von Mises's Jew. It is always more painful to think than to use stencils. It is extremely difficult for conservatives to think. Who does not suspect that everyone is envious? There is something we can deal with—the veritable Jew. Only, it isn't true."

Chambers went on to distinguish the revolutionary from the class of the envious. "The class struggle is rancid with envy. No, that is wrong, too—the masses are rancid with envy. But it is not the fruit of what von Mises supposed. It is the fruit of a materialism which, to prosper, must deepen and widen mass appetites. Envy begins where the Cadillac dangles always just out of reach at the end of the stick. Since the revolutionist cares little or nothing for such materialism, he stands almost wholly outside von Mises's equation."

The distinction is appealing. There are revolutionaries about, though not as abundant here, as in England, where Tony Benn labors, quite simply, to strip English citizens of fundamental freedoms (e.g., to send children to private schools). But the voices one hears in America aren't those of revolutionists. They are the voices of redistributionists. Whether the engine that drives them on is envy, or philanthropy, isn't as easy to say as we should like. But their attitude toward affluence defies rational analysis.

Do wealthy people denounce poor people? Not in any room I'd consent to stay in. But such as Vernon Jordan, or Albert Shanker, or Jerry Wurf, or Lane Kirk-

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land, or Walter Mondale speak of "the rich" in terms terribly difficult to understand, unless it is so that that cultivation of envy of which Chambers speaks is the animating motive, because such men as Kirkland are far from being revolutionaries.

Suppose that one were to devise a remarkable machine. You feed it a dime, it wheezes and chugs and makes smoke and static—and suddenly 18 nickels drop out of the machine, which however hangs on to the dime. This you see sliding along under glass, until it falls over into a coffer, inside the machine. Startled, you come up with another dime—and the process is repeated. You are wild with pleasure, go out to the bank, bring out your savings all in ten-cent bits, and settle down with the machine.

But, after a few days, although you are now knee-deep in nickels, you begin idly calculating the number of dimes you have stuck into the machine. Hmm. Is there . . . a way to retrieve the dimes? There are an awful lot of them there. You bring out a screwdriver . . . And you make a speech, denouncing the avarice of your bloated machine, which has been taking dimes from you without pause, ever since you came upon it. You make wisecracks about it. The only thing you don't do is stop feeding it dimes.

Isn't this something of a parable? If someone were to strike oil once in his lifetime, uncovering a single one-thousand-barrel well yielding $40,000, or $10,000 after costs of extraction and taxes, such a man would not be particularly obnoxious. But what about the man who discovers not one, but a dozen such wells? Does he qualify for denunciation? How about the man who builds not just *one* house in his lifetime, but one hundred houses. Does he then qualify as a public enemy?

It is foolish, of course, to kick machines. Rather like kicking your television set because you don't like the program. But the difference, of course, is that human beings are vulnerable, and when you kick them, or feed them emetics to get those dimes back, there is distress, disorder, and —to use a word that applies equally to machines and to human beings—malfunction. Worth pondering. □

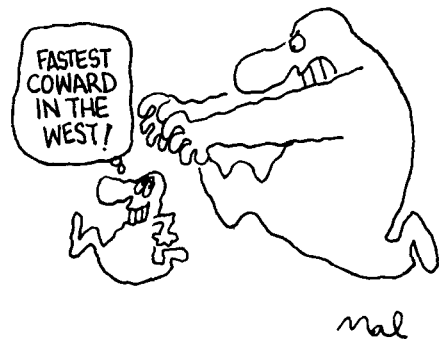
FATHER HEALY'S BLAST

New York, Oct. 12—The Reverend Timothy Healy, who is the president of Georgetown University, said a strange thing in a speech commemorating the opening of a new campus in Washington. He spoke of "the new religiosity that's sweeping the nation" from which he wished to detach himself. "I'm on safe ground, since when the Moral Majority says 'Christian,' it doesn't mean me. The new righteousness runs counter to Western religion."

Since Fr. Healy is a trained priest, one would assume that his knowledge of Western religion would be sound. Sounder, for instance, than his knowledge of American history. Fr. Healy went on to say that the "new righteousness" has also done damage by "its assault on the classic American idea [that] lined up [U.S. foreign policy] against oppression, tyranny, and human cruelty, wherever found." One wonders whether the seminary Fr. Healy attended during the Second World War had him so cloistered that he was never informed that the United States entered into a formal alliance with Josef Stalin's Soviet Union to defeat Hitler. It is doubtful that Fr. Healy ever read the admonition of President John Quincy Adams when he declared that America "is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own." Or Senator William Fulbright's relatively recent declaration that "Insofar as a nation is content to practice its doctrines within its own frontiers, that nation, however repugnant its ideology, is one with which we have no proper quarrel."

It would be interesting to go back to see whether Fr. Healy was a fervent supporter of the war against North Vietnam, to test his theory that U.S. foreign policy always stood "against aggression and tyranny." I say it would be interesting, but I fear it wouldn't be, really; because Fr. Healy betrays himself as a man of fearful temper and little intellectual equilibrium.

The gravamen of America's current "bout of meanness" is, one gathers, America's toleration of the Moral Majority. In an absolutely breathtaking act of historical juxtaposition, Fr. Healy advised his (needless to say) enthusiastic audience that "America is in a rancorous mood these days, and our meanness tracks not escalating interest rates, but a sinking Dow Jones. [I don't really know what that means, but maybe it makes sense in Latin.] These moods have found different names: Nativism, Know-Nothingism, America First, the Ku Klux Klan, McCarthyism. Now we have the . . . Moral Majority." It would surprise most historians if McCarthyism and the Ku Klux Klan had very much in common, or for that matter America First. If it is Fr. Healy's point that all those who become angry are like the Ku Klux Klan, then he might as well throw in Jesus, who got very angry at the moneychangers.



What's going on? Fr. Healy emerges as representative of the ultimate liberal, here defined as someone who is either incapable of serious analysis, or else finds thoughts so inhibiting that he is given rather to bloviation. America, says the president of Georgetown, is showing a new face abroad. How? It is our "bitter set of new national priorities [that] puts military hardware above the promises we've made to the old, gulls children out of school lunches . . ." "In our haste to balance the budget, we seem to ride roughshod over the human considerations . . ."

We're spending 6 per cent of the Gross National Product to defend ourselves and the free world against a world of Gulag. Where was Fr. Healy when we were spending not 6 per cent, but 8, 9, and 14 per cent for the same purpose?—under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Was he railing about the bitter priorities we were showing abroad? We are spending 13 per cent of the Gross National Product on welfare, where 15 years ago we spent 6 per cent. Was he, now in such a state of agitation, then hysterical? Was it necessary to physically hold him down, because of his resentment over spending priorities, back under President Johnson? Eleven years ago we were spending practically nothing on school lunches; under Reagan it is proposed to spend almost $4 billion. Is Fr. Healy capable of understanding the trend? Is he capable of understanding there is some relation between a balanced budget and the fight against inflation, which is the primary domestic enemy of the people?

I mean, of course—except for the Moral Majority. Really, I am perversely grateful for that organization, for bringing out the hidden spook in otherwise apparently normal people. If Senator McCarthy ever spoke so categorically and so spitefully against any American group as Fr. Healy has spoken against the Moral Majority, I'd like to see that statement, and blush for him. And oh yes, when I quote Fr. Healy I'm on safe ground, since when he says Catholic (if ever he does), I want everyone to know it doesn't mean me. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. American forester and governor — 121 5 175 48 149 185 108

B. At the middle point of a trip — 133 11 141 186 91 81 109

C. A building where a certain type of harvest is stored — 24 118 3 158 155 140 182 19

D. This has ruined more statesmen than has the microphone — 151 165 79 104 161 116

E. What the hyena did — 160 100 144 132 28 123 50

F. Part of a baseball team — 1 170 143 147 35 4 97

G. An investigator — 179 145 135 36 6 156

H. A mineral named for an Englishman whose name is also perpetuated in Washington, D.C. — 60 16 46 54 56 72 76 146 62 172 29

I. A toast to a character in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*? — 2 17 22 27 43 120 184 180 150

J. A disease characterized by pain in muscles or joints — 18 23 21 131 178 188 12 86 38 75 78 7 15 32

K. The ruler of the Roman world when the Saviour was born — 31 69 124 105 45 112 174 63

L. In different circumstances — 39 51 70 94 164 138 177 173 33

M. Place in N.C. where the right men were at the right time — 73 169 65 98 85 14 71 162 26

N. The chief administrative authority in most New England towns — 87 125 82 8 171 101 40 88 189

O. To possess — 90 20 25

P. A town S.E. of Oxford, England — 93 37 113 137 126 49 128 57 176

Q. A town in Manitoba, north of Winnipeg — 96 41 134 89 115 127

R. A small creature who appears with extremely low frequency — 102 106 111

S. The Quaker poet — 114 10 58 168 13 110 183 129

T. A statute that provides for public hearings by legislative bodies — 167 136 44 74 52 107 59 159 122 95 34

U. What Sen. Dirksen was — 9 66 83 47

V. To make room for — 53 42 64 92 187 30 119 142 152 157 163

W. Mr. Pocahontas — 77 139 181 154 117

X. The Egyptian god of wisdom (not Sadat!) — 84 67 130 55 99

Y. Cross-eyed — 148 103 80 68 166 61 153

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1292 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

■	1 F	■	2 I	3 C	4 F	5 A	6 G	7 J	8 N	■	9 U	10 S	11 B	12 J	■	13 S	14 M
15 J	■	16 H	17 I	18 J	19 C	■	20 O	21 J	■	22 I	23 J	24 C	25 O	26 M	■	27 I	28 E
29 H	■	30 V	31 K	32 J	33 L	■	34 T	35 F	■	36 G	37 P	38 J	39 L	40 N	41 Q	■	42 V
43 I	44 T	45 K	46 H	47 U	48 A	49 P	50 E	■	51 L	52 T	53 V	54 H	■	55 X	56 H	57 P	■
58 S	59 T	60 H	61 Y	62 H	63 K	64 V	65 M	■	66 U	67 X	68 Y	69 K	70 L	■	71 M	72 H	73 M
74 T	■	75 J	76 H	77 W	■	78 J	79 D	80 Y	81 B	82 N	83 U	84 X	85 M	■	86 J	87 N	■
88 N	■	89 Q	90 O	91 B	■	92 V	93 P	94 L	■	95 T	96 Q	97 F	■	98 M	99 X	100E	101N
■	102R	103Y	104D	105K	106R	107T	108A	109B	■	110S	111R	■	112K	113P	■	114S	115Q
116D	117	■	118C	119V	120I	121A	122T	123E	124K	125N	126P	127Q	■	128P	129S	130X	131J
132E	133	134Q	■	135G	136T	137P	■	138L	139W	140C	141B	142V	■	143F	144E	145G	146H
147F	148	149A	■	150I	151D	152V	153Y	■	154W	155C	156G	■	157V	158C	159T	■	160E
161D	162	163V	164L	■	165D	166Y	167T	168S	169M	170F	171N	172H	173L	■	174K	175A	176P
■	177	178J	179G	180I	181W	182C	183S	184I	■	185A	186B	■	187V	188J	189N	■	■

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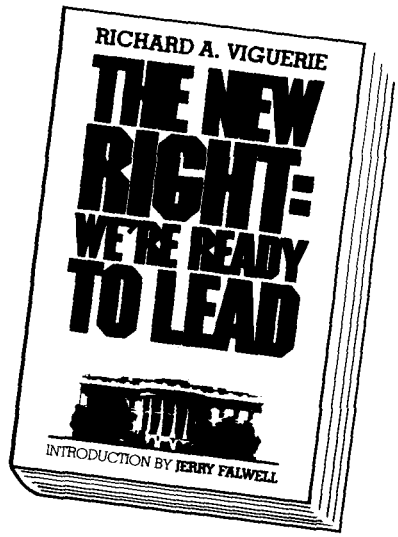
"This Book is Absolutely 'MUST' Reading For Anyone Interested in Conservative Politics..."

Orrin G. Hatch
United States Senator—Utah



THE NEW RIGHT: WE'RE READY TO LEAD tells why liberalism is losing in America and how the New Right is shaping these issues facing the Reagan administration. As a leader in the New Right, Richard Viguerie speaks with first-hand knowledge of the personality, tactics and philosophies involved. In this book, you will discover...

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- Why some of the conservative ministers decided to team up with economic conservatives.
- How Nelson Rockefeller's appointment as Vice President helped create the New Right.
- What really goes on in New Right strategy sessions. What the New Right really believes.
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RICHARD VIGUERIE

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The Modern Little Red Hen.

Once upon a time, there was a little red hen who scratched about the barnyard until she uncovered some grains of wheat. She called her neighbors and said, "If we plant this wheat, we shall have bread to eat. Who will help me plant it?"

"Not I," said the cow.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Not I," said the pig.

"Not I," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen. And she did. The wheat grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap my wheat?" asked the little red hen.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Out of my classification," said the pig.

"I'd lose my seniority," said the cow.

"I'd lose my unemployment compensation," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen, and she did.

At last it came time to bake the bread. "Who will help me bake the bread?" asked the little red hen.

"That would be overtime for me," said the cow.

"I'd lose my welfare benefits," said the duck.

"I'm a dropout and never learned how," said the pig.

"If I'm to be the only helper, that's discrimination," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen.

She baked five loaves and held them up for her neighbors to see.

They all wanted some and, in fact, demanded a share. But the little red hen said, "No, I can eat the five loaves myself."

"Excess profits!" cried the cow.

"Capitalist leech!" screamed the duck.

"I demand equal rights!" yelled the goose.

And the pig just grunted. And they painted "unfair" picket signs and marched round and round the little red hen, shouting obscenities.

When the government agent came, he said to the little red hen, "You must not be greedy."

"But I earned the bread," said the little red hen.

"Exactly," said the agent. "That is the wonderful free enterprise system. Anyone in the barnyard can earn as much as he wants. But under our modern government regulations, the productive workers must divide their product with the idle."

And they lived happily ever after, including the little red hen, who smiled and clucked, "I am grateful. I am grateful."

But her neighbors wondered why she never again baked any more bread.

Material originally prepared by Pennwalt Corporation.

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